

**Women, Education and the Labour Market in Saudi Arabia:  
An Investigation of the Work Characteristics of Female  
Workers in Riyadh in Relation to their Education and  
Work Experience**

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# I

## ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the interrelationship between education and employment for women in Saudi Arabia by investigating the work characteristics of female workers in Riyadh in relation to their education and work experience. With this in mind, two questions are addressed: (a) the role of female education in facilitating the needs of the work place by enhancing women's work characteristics; (b) the role of female experience in the labour market in developing and maintaining the work characteristics most needed in job settings.

Nine work characteristics are investigated: work commitment, working co-operatively and accepting other colleagues' differences, educational and technical skills valuation, educational and occupational aspiration, change orientation, responsibility, decision making, time valuation and planning.

The study is based on intensive interviews with four groups of women (20 in each) who work in educational institutions in Riyadh and who differ in their educational background and the length of their working experience.

After the first three chapters which outline the concerns of the study and the importance of the work characteristics in job settings, the theoretical chapter presents and critically discusses the theories of the labour market. These include the Human Capital Theory, the Screening Hypotheses, the Job Competition Model and the Segmentation Theory of the Labour Market. These theories are used as a framework to identify the main features of the Saudi female labour market and to emphasize its differences which are not explained by former theories.

This is followed by two chapters on women's education and employment in Saudi Arabia which outline the educational opportunities available to females in relation to the labour market, and the disparities existing between males and females of all educational types and levels. In discussing female access to the labour market, emphasis is given to the role of the General Presidency of Girls' Education (GPGE) in shaping the educational and employment opportunities and working conditions of Saudi Arabian females and the role of educational qualifications in the labour market and the problem of unemployment among educated females.

The analysis of data which is presented in Chapter Seven indicates that although education and work experience have significantly affected some of the groups' work characteristics, the strength of the value of this significance is weakened due, as this thesis argues, to three major factors: (1) the nature of the female labour market which is characterized by limitation and segregation from the open market. This has affected the type and availability of jobs offered to females, mobility among



## II

their segments and demand for their labour; (2) the type of education offered to females which is limited to certain specialities that lead to the conventional careers in teaching, nursing and medicine. The problem facing educated females is that they are caught in the middle of being educated traditionally in a labour market that has run out of opportunities in the traditional sector; (3) the nature of women's working organizations which are characterized by autocracy and male domination in the higher administrative levels.

Policy implications include the need for reform in the GPGE administrative structure and in the philosophy and basis of female education. The study stresses that the opening of new working opportunities for females would not solve the problem of unemployment or over-employment unless fundamental ideological changes are introduced to the role of women portrayed by the existing educational system and to the value of work and public participation of women in the school curricula.

### III

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#### IV

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Abstract .....	I
Acknowledgements .....	III
List of Charts and Tables .....	X
Chapter One: Purpose and Significance of the Study ...	1
- Introduction .....	1
1.1 Purpose of the Study .....	3
1.2 Significance of the Study .....	7
1.3 Organization of the Study .....	8
Chapter Two: The Methodological Design .....	10
- Introduction .....	10
2.1 The Methodological Approach .....	10
2.2 Hypothesis .....	12
2.3 Description of the Research Sample .....	13
2.4 Selection of the Sample .....	15
2.5 The Data Gathering Instruments .....	17
2.6 The Preliminary Study .....	18
2.7 The Construction of the Interview Schedule ..	21
2.8 The Statistical Treatment .....	24
2.9 The Nine Working Characteristics .....	26
2.10 Field Testing of the Interview Schedule .....	32
2.11 The Interview Procedures .....	33
2.12 Summary .....	34
Chapter Three: Work Characteristics in Job Settings ..	37
- Introduction .....	37
3.1 The Importance of Work Characteristics in the Job Setting .....	38
3.2 Personal Work Characteristics Most Needed in Work Settings .....	43
3.3 The Acquisition Process of Work Related Characteristics .....	47
3.4 The Role of Cultural Factors .....	52
3.5 The Role of Islamic Beliefs in Determining Work Characteristics .....	54
3.6 The Right and Obligations of Workers in Islam.	60
3.7 Summary and Conclusion .....	63
+ Chapter Four: Education and Employment: A Theoretical Framework .....	66
- Introduction .....	66
A: Theories of the Labour Market .....	68
4.1 The Orthodox/Neo-Classical Analysis of the Labour Market .....	68



## VI

4.1.1	The Concept of Human Capital Theory .....	69
4.1.2	The Screening or Signalling Hypothesis .....	75
4.1.3	The Job Competition Model .....	78
4.2	The Dual Labour Market Analysis .....	81
4.2.1	The Radical Theory of the Segmented Labour Market .....	83
4.2.2	Variants of the Segmented Labour Market Theory	85
4.2.3	Critics of the Radical Theory of the Segmented Labour Market .....	89
B:	Summary and Application .....	92
4.3.1	Theories of the Labour Market .....	92
4.3.2	The Main Features of the Female Labour Market in Saudi Arabia .....	96
4.3.3	How do the Existing Theories of the Labour Market explain these Features of the Female Labour Market in Saudi Arabia? .....	101
4.3.4	Summary and Conclusion .....	107 X
Chapter Five: Access of Females to Education in Saudi Arabia .....		
-	Introduction .....	110
5.1	Informal Education for Females before 1960 ...	111
5.2	Formal State Education .....	114
5.3	The Structure of the Educational System .....	119
5.3.1	Financing of Education .....	122
5.4	Female Education at the Elementary Level .....	123
5.5	Female Education at the Intermediate Level ...	126
5.6	Female Education at the Secondary Level .....	130
5.6.1	Differences in Subject Choices between Males and Females at the Secondary School Level ....	133
5.7	Female Education at the Higher Level .....	138
5.7.1	The Evolution of Female Higher Education .....	138
5.7.2	Access of Females to Higher Education .....	141
5.7.3	Females' Fields of Study in Higher Education .	143
5.7.4	Females' Distribution in the Different Fields of Study .....	146
5.7.5	Access of Females to Post-graduate Studies....	148
5.7.6	Access of Females to Education Abroad .....	150
5.8	Summary and Conclusion .....	153
Chapter Six: Saudi Women and the Labour Market .....		
-	Introduction .....	157
6.1	Saudi Females in the Labour Market .....	159
6.2	Female Employment in Government Establishments	161
6.3	The Role of Educational Qualifications in Female Employment .....	164
6.4	The Rate of Saudi Females' Participation in the Workforce .....	170
6.5	The Occupational Distribution of Saudi Female Labour .....	174
6.6	The Unemployment Problem among Educated Females .....	179



## VII

6.7	Social and Cultural Factors Affecting Females' Participation in the Labour Market .....	184
6.8	The Role of the General Presidency of Girls' Education (GPGE) in the Saudi Female Labour Market .....	187
6.9	Islam and the Question of Women's Work .....	191
6.10	Difficulties Facing Saudi Working Women .....	196
6.11	Summary and Conclusion .....	198

## Chapter Seven: Empirical Analysis of the Work

	Characteristics of Female Employees in Saudi Arabia .....	201
-	Introduction .....	201
7.1	Background Features of the Sample .....	202
7.2	Analysis of the Data .....	205
7.2.1	Work Commitment .....	207
	a: Preference for the present job .....	209
	b: More time and effort by the respondents as a sign of commitment .....	211
	c: How do respondents cope with the work in their first year?.....	213
	d: The concept and value of work .....	219
	e: Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction in work commitment .....	228
	f: Means of the four groups on work commitment .....	230
7.2.2	Working Co-operatively and Acceptance of Colleagues' Differences .....	232
	a: Team work .....	235
	b: Acceptance of other colleagues at work ...	236
	c: Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on working co-operatively and acceptance of colleagues' differences .....	240
	d: Means of the four groups on co-operation .	241
7.2.3	Change Orientation .....	241
	a: Change orientation at the workplace .....	244
	b: Change orientation at the personal level .	245
	c: Testing for the effect of education, work. experience and their interaction on change orientation .....	252
	d: Means of the four groups on change orientation .....	253
7.2.4	Educational and Technical Skills Valuation ...	254
	a: Employees' evaluation of their vocational and working characteristics .....	256
	b: Willingness for more in-service training .	258
	c: The effect of experience at work on the sample's vocational and working characteristics .....	260



# VIII

d:	Working characteristics most needed at work as seen by the sample .....	267
e:	The four most important qualities at work as seen by the groups .....	268
f:	Means of groups 1 and 2 on educational and technical skills valuation .....	270
7.2.5	Educational and Occupational Aspiration .....	271
a:	The role of education in the preparation for work .....	273
b:	Educational aspiration .....	275
c:	Occupational aspiration .....	276
d:	Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on educational and occupational aspiration ..	282
e:	Means of the four groups on educational and occupational aspiration .....	283
7.2.6	Responsibility .....	283
a:	Responsibility towards work .....	286
b:	Readiness for more responsibilities at work .....	288
c:	Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on responsibility .....	291
d:	Means of the four groups on responsibility .....	292
7.2.7	Decision Making .....	293
a:	Autonomy at work .....	294
b:	Decision making at the private level .....	296
c:	Test for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on decision making .....	298
d:	Means of the four groups on decision making .....	299
7.2.8	Time Valuation .....	300
a:	Participants' understanding of time at work .....	302
b:	Use of time in the workplace .....	303
c:	Testing for the effects of education, work experience and their interaction on time valuation .....	305
d:	Means of the four groups on time valuation .....	306
7.2.9	Planning .....	307
a:	Planning at work .....	308
b:	Planning at the private level .....	309
c:	Testing for the effects of education, work experience and their interaction on planning .....	311
d:	Means of the four groups on planning .....	312
7.3	An Overall Analysis of the Four Groups' Working Characteristics in Relation to their Education and Working Experience .....	312

## IX

Chapter Eight: Summary and Conclusions .....	320
- Introduction .....	320
8.1 Factors Affecting the Nine Working Characteristics of the Four Groups .....	321
a: The Nature of the Saudi Female Labour Market..	321
b: The Type of Education Offered to Women and its Hidden Curricula .....	322
c: The Nature of Organizations in which Women Work and their Domination by Higher Male Administration .....	323
d: Policy Implications .....	324
Bibliography .....	327
Appendices .....	343
I Interview Schedule before Field Testing .....	343
II Interview Schedule .....	352
III The Preliminary Questionnaire .....	360
IV Evaluation Sheet for Employees .....	363
V The Labour Laws for Juveniles and Women in Saudi Arabia .....	364
VI Examples of Internal Regulations of the GPGE .	366



## LIST OF CHARTS AND TABLES

List of Charts		Page
4.1	The Effect of Political, Cultural and Religious Factors on the Economic Functions of the Female Labour Market in Saudi Arabia.....	105
5.2	The Educational System for Males in Saudi Arabia .....	120
5.3	The Educational System for Females in Saudi Arabia .....	121
5.4	Organization of Higher Education in Saudi Arabia and the Number of Universities and Colleges Admitting Females .....	140
List of Tables		
Table 1	Female Private Schools Established in Saudi Arabia Prior to Female Education .....	112
Table 2	Government Appropriation for Education by Organization from 1978-79 to 1986-87 .....	122
Table 3	Girls' Level of Enrolment at the Elementary Level from 1969-70 to 1979-80 .....	124
Table 4	The Percentage of Female Students and their Schools Compared to Males at the Elementary Level over the 1969-70 to 1986-87 .....	126
Table 5	Female Level of Enrolment at the Intermediate Level from 1967-70 to 1979-80 .....	127
Table 6	The % of Female Students and their Schools Compared to Males at the Intermediate Level from 1969-70 to 1986-87 .....	128
Table 7	The % of Female Students and their Schools Compared to Males at the Secondary Level from 1969-70 to 1986-87.....	131
Table 8	A Comparison of Male/Female Results at the General Secondary Education Certificate for 1982-83 .....	134
Table 9	The Percentage of Females Passing Secondary Examinations Compared to Males from 1981-82 to 1985-86 .....	136
Table 10	Percentage of Female Students Compared to Males in Higher Education in the Ten Years from 1969-70 to 1986-87 .....	142
Table 11	Graduates of Higher Education Institutions by Field of Study in the Ten Years 1973-74 to 1982-83 .....	147
Table 12	Distribution of the Workforce according to the Level and Type of Education, Sex and Nationality for 1987 in Saudi Arabia .....	168
Table 13	Total Saudi Working-age Population and Civilian Labour Force 1984-85 and the Expectation for 1989-1990 .....	171



# XI

Table 14	The Labour Force in Government Agencies in the years 1975-1987 according to the Sex and Nationality in Saudi and % of Female Labour and % of Foreign Labour to Saudi .....	173
Table 15	The Occupational Distribution of Saudi and Non-Saudi Females in Government Establishments by the Type of Job up to 1988 .....	175
Table 16A	The Distribution of the Workforce According to Sex, Nationality and Economic Activity in Saudi Arabia in 1974 .....	178
Table 16B	The Distribution of the Workforce According to the Economic Activity up to 1984-85 .....	178
Table 17	The Background Features of the Sample .....	203
Table 18	The Frequency Data and the Values of Education, Work Experience and their Interaction for Work Commitment .....	208
Table 19	The Frequency Data and the Values of Education, Work Experience and their Interaction for the Four Groups on Working Co-operatively and Acceptance of Colleagues Differences .....	234
Table 20	The Frequency Data and the Values of Education, Work Experience and their Interaction for the Four Groups on Change Orientation .....	243
Table 21	The Frequency Data for Groups 1 and 2 in Education and Technical Skills Valuation .....	256
Table 22	The Four First Working Characteristics Most Needed at Work as seen by the Four Groups .....	270
Table 23	The Frequency Data and the Values of Education, Work Experience and their Interaction for Educational and Occupational Aspiration .....	272
Table 24	The Frequency Data and the Values of Education, Work Experience and their Interaction on Responsibility .....	285
Table 25	The Frequency Data and the Values of Education, Work Experience and their Interaction for the Four Groups in Decision Making .....	294
Table 26	The Frequency Data and the Values of Education, Work Experience and their Interaction on Time Valuation .....	301
Table 27	The Frequency Data and the Values of Education, Work Experience and their Interaction on Planning .....	308
Table 28	The Frequency Data and the Values of Education, Work Experience and their Interaction for the Four Groups on the Nine Work Characteristics .....	315



## Chapter One

### Purpose and Significance of the Study

#### Introduction:

This study arises from the growing awareness of the role played by women in the development process through their participation in work. It aims to investigate the role of female labour at work in Saudi Arabia and the effect of education and work experience in determining their work characteristics. The Fourth Development Plan considers human resources development including both men and women, as one of its major objectives:

"Thus ensuring a constant supply of manpower and to upgrade and improve its efficiency to serve all sectors." (1985-1990: 41)

Saudi Arabia has enjoyed huge financial resources during the seventies and early eighties which enables the country to process its major development programmes in defence, industry, education, labour force and physical infrastructure. Manpower shortages have been overcome with millions of foreign workers. However, the eighties have shown a constant decline of Saudi Arabian revenues because of a sharp fall in the world demand for oil (Ministry of Planning 1984: 2). This has raised serious questions about the need for better utilization of the country's human resources, which, of necessity, raises the question of the position of women within the overall workforce.

The study comes as a response to the need to ensure better use of female labour at work by examining the role that education and work experience play in developing the work characteristics which are essential to job performance and to the achievement of organizational goals. Different studies of male government organizations and bureaucracy in Saudi Arabia reveal some of the behavioural and structural shortcomings of the employees' work characteristics. Practices of favouritism, lack of "punctuality" and non-conformity of employees to work schedules are common problems (Tawati 1976 in Assad 1981: 2; Assad 1981: 3; Al Awajy 1971-1978). Khalil's (1979) study of women working in administration in Jeddah found that the lack of 'punctuality' and the limited desire of employees to improve their work performance are major administrative problems. Female workers felt that their jobs did not fit with their interests and that their personal and social difficulties were reflected in their performances.

Thus, an obvious need exists to understand the factors determining the work characteristics of the female labour force. The problem encountered here is that in spite of the large number of studies of Saudi Arabian bureaucracy, manpower and educational settings,<sup>1</sup> there has been little systematic accumulation of knowledge regarding women's organizations and female employees.



Most studies of women within the context of education and work in Saudi Arabia have concentrated on the difficulties women face in acquiring education and work (Almana 1981; Gadi 1979; Alhamad 1986; Al-Nemer 1989). These, however, are only partial explanations of exceedingly complex phenomena. This study seeks to penetrate other important key issues. Education is one of these major issues because of its role in determining the share of women in the labour market. The study questions the internal mechanism operating in female education by questioning the role of the General Presidency of Girls' Education (GPGE) which controls women's education and employment opportunities and plays a fundamental role in determining the quantity and quality of that education. Work is another major issue which this study seeks to examine by describing the nature and the major functions of female labour in Saudi Arabia and analysing job opportunities and the effect of working outside the home on female work characteristics.

### 1.1 Purpose of the Study:

The present study starts from the conviction that work involves three sets of characteristics: (a) characteristics of individuals, (b) characteristics of the job and what the employee does at work, and (c) characteristics of the working environment and the nature of the organization

(Steers and Porter 1979: 21-23). The study concerns itself with the characteristics of individual employees who are expected to perform certain tasks, and are thus restricted by specific limiting conditions of time, venue, duration and intensity (Corson 1988: 14). Certain work characteristics and values are seen as essential to both the job performance of these employees and to meeting organizational goals. As Chapter Two discusses in detail, this study identifies nine work characteristics to be tested in this research. These are: (1) Work Commitment, (2) Working Co-operatively and Acceptance of Colleagues' Differences, (3) Change Orientation, (4) Educational and Technical Skills Valuation, (5) Educational and Occupational Aspiration, (6) Responsibility, (7) Decision Making, (8) Time Valuation, and (9) Planning. Chapter Seven presents the empirical data arising from the field research undertaken in Saudi Arabia.

The broad aim of this study is to elaborate on these nine characteristics among working women in Riyadh in order to reveal the meaning and the place of work in the lives of these women. The study focuses on women in government agencies for two main reasons: (a) Saudi Arabia is a segregated society in which men and women each study and work in separate organizations. Thus, different roles and expectations govern each sector. (b) Almost 90% of working women are employed in government agencies and 86% of them



are employed by the General Presidency of Girls' Education (GPGE).

The study aims to establish an explanation of how far the variation in these nine work characteristics among women working in government educational institutions can be attributed to education and how far to work experience. Given this, and within the educational and employment conditions of Saudi Arabian women, two specific questions are addressed: (1) What role does education play in determining these characteristics? Women in Saudi Arabia have only limited access to specific educational opportunities as will be elaborated in Chapter Five. The prime objective of education for females is to reproduce amongst women their conventional roles as mothers and wives segregated from public life as stated by the educational policy:

"objectives of a woman's education are to bring her up in a sound Islamic way so that she can fulfil her role in life as a successful housewife, ideal wife and good mother, and to prepare her for other activities that suit her nature such as teaching, nursing and medicine" (The Educational Policy in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, 1978:28)

Taking into account the nature of this education, the question to be addressed is how and to what extent education is able to overcome the inevitable contradictions between, on the one hand, the traditional role required of women and, on the other, the needs of the working environment which require these women to be active,

outgoing and decisive and to make advancement in a career beyond the expected role portrayed by society. Do women with education differ in their work characteristics from those with no education?

(2) What role does work experience play in determining these work characteristics? As Chapter Six discusses in detail, the law in Saudi Arabia limits females to the conventional line of employment. The ideology and practices of the organization controlling female employment emphasize a restrictive pattern of working conditions that reinforces the segregation and limitation on women's movement and mobility.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, females in Saudi Arabia are excluded from public life. Alabd Alhay (1983), Assad (1983), Morgan (1984) and Hijab (1988) illustrate the strict interpretation of Islamic law in Saudi Arabia which requires women to wear the Hejab.<sup>3</sup> This implies and reinforces a segregation from the public sphere and from interacting with men who are not family members. A woman may not drive or travel without a male relative and requires male permission for education and for work. This forces women to rely upon men to produce most necessities. Under such working and living conditions how can a woman be active, reveal self-confidence and make independent judgements in the workplace?

Are the work characteristics of women who have been in work for a period of time different from other women who are newly employed?



## 1.2 Significance of the Study:

This study is significant for four reasons: (1) It provides a qualitative empirical and analytical analysis of the role of Saudi women at work. Many other studies that are available rely heavily on official statistics that tend to be contradictory. (2) By investigating the role of female education and employment, the study hopes to provide some indications of the shifts in the position of women in present Saudi society and of their integration in the development process. (3) As Chapters Three and Four indicate, the theoretical debate on the relationship between education and employment has mainly focused on issues such as the economic return of education and productivity. Little systematic work has been carried out regarding the non-cognitive outcome of education in relation to employment and even less to the attitudes, values and work characteristics. (4) As Chapter Three illustrates, the few studies which were concerned with the characteristics of workers in contemporary organizations (Inkeles and Smith 1972; Kahl 1968; Kohn 1977) were carried out among male workers only. Female workers in these studies were excluded and the gender issue in relation to education, work experience or any other factors that were studied was overlooked. This emphasizes the importance of this study which will fill a gap in the literature of work characteristics with reference to women.

### 1.3 Organisation of the Study:

This study is divided into eight chapters:

Chapter One: Introduces the main objectives of the study, its rationale, purpose and significance in relation to the two principal variables studied: female education and work experience.

Chapter Two: Presents the methodology employed in the study that includes: hypotheses, description of the sample, the data gathering instruments, field testing of the research instrument and the interview procedure.

Chapter Three: As this study is directly concerned with the work characteristics of female workers in Saudi Arabia, a brief review of related literature on the importance of such characteristics is presented with special emphasis on the role of Islamic beliefs on the formation of values, attitudes and work related characteristics.

Chapter Four: Illustrates the major theoretical debate on the relationship between education and employment by reviewing related literature on the two main theories of the labour market. Major studies examining these theories are presented and the applicability of these theories to the Saudi Arabian female labour market is discussed.

Chapter Five: Discusses female access to the different levels and types of education compared to those provided for males and the role this education plays in the female labour market.



Chapter Six: Discusses the Saudi Arabian female labour market, the role of educational qualifications, the rate of female participation, the occupational distribution, the employment problem and the role of the GPGE and other religious and cultural forces in determining the basic functions of this market.

Chapter Seven: Presents the major findings of the field work on the nine work characteristics among the four groups of the study. A test of the three main hypotheses in relation to education, work experience and their interaction is discussed.

Chapter Eight: Summarizes the overall findings of the study in relation to the theoretical and empirical data and offers a number of recommendations with regard to women's education and the labour market in Saudi Arabia.

#### Notes to Chapter One

1. With regard to studies of bureaucracy in Saudi Arabia see: Al Awajy 1971; Tawati 1976; Dhaher 1979. For studies of manpower requirement and educational setting see: Al-Obaid 1979; Al Abdalwahed 1981; Al Jiffry 1983; Akad 1983; Nabti 1980; Almoammar 1983; Hammad 1973; Gadi 1979; Alhamad 1986.
2. See Appendix V.
3. Women are covered from head to foot in loose black flowing robes called the abaya with the face usually entirely behind a black veil.

## Chapter Two

### The Methodological Design

#### Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology employed in the present study. This includes: (2.1) the methodological approach; (2.2) the major three hypotheses of the study; (2.3) description of the research sample; (2.4) selection of the sample; (2.5) the data gathering instruments; (2.6) the preliminary study; (2.7) the interview schedule; (2.8) the nine work characteristics investigated in the interview schedule; (2.9) field testing of the interview schedule; and finally, (2.10) the interview procedure.

#### 2.1: The Methodological Approach:

The main purpose of this study is to investigate the effect of both education and work experience on several work characteristics of women working in female educational institutions in Riyadh. Thus, three main concepts are identified: (a) Education, (b) Work Experience, and (c) Work Characteristics.

(a) Education: this means the number of years of schooling for each participant in the study sample. The study limits itself to those certificates which are required for most jobs available in the Saudi Arabian female labour market. These include high school certificates or college degrees for those with experience and/or any further education or



college degrees for those newly employed since the qualifications which are required for jobs at the present time have risen to this level, as will be shown in Chapters Five and Six.

(b) Work Experience: years spent in the labour market as an employee working in one of the female educational institutions in Riyadh.

(c) Work Characteristics: are those personal social attributes that are recognized by relevant literature as important in performing job tasks and achieving organizational goals. Section 2.8 of this chapter elaborates on the nine work characteristics studied in this research. Chapter Three outlines the importance of work characteristics and the different factors involved in the process of acquisition of such attributes. A special reference is made to the effect of Islam as a dominant cultural factor within the sample's domestic working environment.

The methodological approach adopted in this study aims to introduce a sociological and educational analysis that takes the conceptual and theoretical framework of the present study into account when analysing the data gathered from the field work and presented in Chapter Seven. This is by using both the qualitative and quantitative data which allows for a more sensitive understanding of the cultural and religious factors involved in determining the nature and

functions of Saudi Arabian female education and the labour market, as will be illustrated in Chapters Five and Six.

## 2.2: Hypothesis:

Taking into account the basic thrust of the present study which aims to examine the effect of both education and experience of the study sample on their work characteristics, the research centres around three major hypotheses which are divided into sub-components with the analysis in Chapter Seven. The purpose of these hypotheses is to examine whether education, work experience and their interaction have significant effects on the nine work characteristics of the sample. The effects, if any, are statistically tested by applying the analysis of variance to the responses of the four groups of the study with the level of significance established at .05. These hypotheses are:

Hypothesis 1: Education has a significant effect on the nine work characteristics studied in this research which are stated in Chapter One and elaborated in Chapters Three and Seven.

Hypothesis 2: Work experience has a significant effect on the nine work characteristics.

Hypothesis 3: Interaction between education and work experience has a significant effect on each of the nine work characteristics.



### 2.3: Description of the Research Sample:

Four groups of female workers who differ in their educational backgrounds and in the number of years spent working outside the home were chosen to compare the effect of these differences on their work characteristics. These four groups are drawn from females working in government educational institutions for girls (schools and universities) in Riyadh.

The groups are characterized as follows:

Group 1: working women with education and three years or more of working experience

Group 2: working women with education who are newly employed

Group 3: working women with three years or more of working experience and with no educational background

Group 4: working women who are newly employed and with no educational background.

Because of the nature of the interview as a time consuming device, only a limited number of cases was possible. Each group consisted of 20 participants with a total of 80 in the whole sample.

Since the General Presidency of Girls' Education (GPGE) is the main provider of girls' education at the general

level (primary, intermediate, secondary) and King Saud University is the main provider at the university level in Riyadh, these two important administrations were chosen as areas for the field work.

To accomplish more significant results, the study concentrated on a limited number of occupations within female schools. For groups 1 and 2 (i.e. with education) 'white collar' occupations were chosen, namely teaching, student attendants (at the general level), TV attendants (at the university level) and secretaries.<sup>1</sup> Those doing supervisory work were not included (i.e. principals, office managers) since they represent the employers for the employees who are the subjects of this study. For groups 3 and 4 (i.e. with no education) "blue collar" workers were chosen in the GPGE and university settings. They do house-keeping, cleaning and delivering internal mail within the school. Their supervisors, although women with no education, were not included. The rationale for the selection of this cluster of occupations is that, on the one hand, they represent the main occupations practised within female educational institutions, and on the other, they are one of the only major occupations available to Saudi females in the labour market, as will be illustrated in Chapter Six.



#### 2.4: Selection of the Sample:

To identify the different groups according to their distinctive educational qualifications and experience, I started with the Girls' Centre for University Studies, administered by King Saud University. A list of all female employees stating their qualifications, years of experience and type of job performed was obtained. Teaching professions at this centre were not included since they require higher qualifications than studied in this research (i.e. post-graduate degrees).

According to the list, there were no newly-employed workers in the occupations chosen for this study within the three months before the field work was conducted. Thus, I concentrated on those with education and work experience to fit group 1, or with no education but with experience to fit group 3. For group 1, there were 91 employees working at the administration of King Saud Women's Centre (such as secretaries, TV attendants, student attendants). Eighteen of them had lower educational qualifications than required for this study (less than high school). Twenty others were not included because they had less than three years of experience. This left 51 names on the list from which every fifth name on the list was chosen. Nevertheless, this process of selecting the sample was sometimes disrupted by absenteeism, sickness, maternity leave or refusal to cooperate. In any of these cases, the next person on the

list was identified as a substitute.

For group 3 (Experience + No Education) 21 were identified. Four were not suitable since they had less than three years of experience. Again every fifth name on the list was chosen at random.

With the GPGE schools, a list of all employees in general education was not possible because of their large number. Therefore, in order to choose the subjects suitable for groups 1 and 3, a list of intermediate and high schools was obtained. Elementary schools were excluded because most employees have lower educational qualifications than studied here. Schools were then chosen to represent the different social and economic variations of Riyadh City from the north to south. Fourteen schools were chosen, 8 high schools and 6 intermediate. A list of their employees was obtained from the GPGE female supervisory office with the employees' qualifications, years of experience and types of job performed. Those who are employed in occupations that are studied in this research were listed separately and every fifth name on the list was chosen. Some individuals who were identified but were not available because of sickness, maternity leave or refusal to participate were replaced by the next person on the list.

For group 2 (Education + No Experience) and group 4 (No Education + No Experience) in GPGE schools, the task was more complicated because of the limited number of females



employed in the last three months before conducting the field work. There were a considerable number of newly appointed teachers, but there were very few in other job categories such as secretaries or student attendants, of which 44 were identified as newly appointed within the different schools in Riyadh. Because of their limited number, the rest of these new workers were interviewed for group 2 according to their availability. For group 4, 32 workers were identified as newly employed in the different schools and were also interviewed according to their availability.

#### 2.5: The Data Gathering Instruments:

Primary and secondary sources were used in studying the research problem. These include:

- Documentation covering a wide range of relevant literature including books, periodicals and reports in addition to a computer search that was conducted to identify recent literature.
- Government publications including statistical books, reports and guides that are produced by the different ministries in Saudi Arabia.
- My own preliminary study among twenty female employers administering some of the women's educational institutions in Riyadh.

## 2.6: The Preliminary Study

The preliminary study was meant to identify the main features of the Saudi females' domestic working environment which would help to build the interview schedule of the field work. However, as a preparation phase for this preliminary study and in order to gain greater understanding of the research problem, unstructured interviews were conducted with a number of educationalists, senior employers, school headmasters, supervisors, teachers, and secretaries working in girls' schools in Riyadh. These interviews aimed to explore employers' and employees' problems at work, their job requirements, recruitment policies and qualifications needed. The outcome of these interviews formed the basis for the questionnaire used in the preliminary study (see Appendix III). In June 1987, an open-ended questionnaire was designed and distributed among twenty female employers in the educational institutions in Riyadh. This aimed to assess the employers' perceptions of the problems they face with their female employees, their expectations, recruitment policies and their recommendations for the improvement of employment conditions.

In this questionnaire, employers were asked to identify any problems they faced with their employees. They were given a number of work characteristics which they were asked to categorize according to their importance. Then, employers were asked if they could attribute the differences found



among their employees in these characteristics either to the educational qualifications or work experience of their employees, or to any other factors they could identify. In addition, they were asked to rate the importance of the educational qualifications of their employees compared to their work characteristics such as commitment to work, ability to work with others, adaptation to work conditions, responsibility and initiative in achieving work tasks. Finally employees were asked to specify their recruitment criteria and any recommendations that might help to improve their employees' work characteristics.

The findings revealed that one of the main problems employers face with their female employees is that social and family obligations affect their performance and attendance at work. This is reflected in frequent absenteeism and sickness leave. Other problems include a lack of interest in acquiring new ideas or ways of improving individual job performance, lack of co-operation among workers, low standards of educational and occupational qualifications and employees' refusal to undertake any additional task.

When employers were asked about the importance of educational qualifications compared with personal and social work characteristics at work, 45% (nine) thought both criteria equally important; whereas 40% (eight) thought personal and social work characteristics were more

important. From their ranking of the work characteristics, half of the sample considered ability to adapt to work conditions as their first choice for the most important work characteristic in job settings. Experience on the job and working co-operatively with peers were rated second. Other characteristics such as responsibility, initiative, leadership qualities and time valuation were mentioned more frequently than others such as personal appearance which was rated the lowest.

When they were asked if they could attribute differences that their employees reveal in their work characteristics either to the employees' education, experience or to other factors, 50% attributed the differences to work experience, 20% to education, 10% to the educational institution and whether the employee had studied in the GPGE educational colleges or King Saud University, 10% to the region where the employees came from (urban or rural) and 10% to the social and economic background of the employees.

When asked if more education would improve employees' quality of work, 75% said 'no' and 25% said 'yes'. Their recruitment policies emphasize the importance of educational qualifications, although, in some cases, other factors tend to override such policies, e.g. favouritism. Employers' recommendations indicated the need to improve the present



educational system by expanding its vocational and training aspects. This would increase future female employment, improving school atmosphere, students' and teachers' relationships and advancing the learning instructions which would help to build students' confidence, initiative sense of responsibility and critical thinking.

The findings of this study have helped to identify the main concerns of the present educational institutions in relation to their employees. It also highlighted the work characteristics most in demand for job performance in these institutions which were used, along with relevant literature, in the construction of the interview schedule. This will now be described in detail.

#### 2.7: The Construction of the Interview Schedule:

As has been stated above, the findings of the preliminary study along with the relevant literature were used to identify the main themes for the interview schedule which was used in the field work to study the sample's work characteristics.

Thus, studies of job performance, job requirements, employers' expectations, productivity and modernity in relation to education and work were reviewed and revealed the importance of certain work characteristics on the job. Most of these studies are reviewed in Chapter Three. However, a specific reference to some is necessary here

because several items in these studies have been used as guide-lines in developing the different items in the interview schedule for the present study.

Inkeles and Smith's study (1974) is especially important in its concern over the values and attitudes required in modern organizations.

They illustrate the different predictors of modernity such as education, work experience, mass media, family background and rural origin. They identify certain qualities thought to be important for men working in modern organizations. These qualities were converted to themes used to build their scale of modernity. Twenty-six themes were established and coded, e.g. planning (pl). They interviewed 6,000 men in six developing countries including peasants, industrial workers and persons in more traditional pursuits in towns. Some of the items from the different themes of Inkeles and Smith's study were used to build the interview schedule of the present study. These items in their original form and after modification are listed in Appendix I.

Four items were also borrowed with great modification from Kahl's (1968) study of the values and orientation that are principally used by men in Brazil and Mexico to organise their occupational careers. Kahl used a value scale that he built by inventing or borrowing a large number of attitude items from other social surveys. These four items are



listed in Appendix I.

Five other items were inspired by Kohn's (1977) study of class and conformity, which tested the relationship of social class to values and behaviour. Specifically the relationship between individuals' life condition, their class and their occupation. The items borrowed from his scale are also listed in Appendix I.

In addition, the job performance evaluation sheets used by the GPGE for its employees at schools in Saudi Arabia were also used as indicators for the most desirable work characteristics required of employees.

There are three different evaluation sheets. One for those whose jobs involve educational tasks such as teachers, supervisors and school principals. Another is for those who do not perform educational tasks such as secretaries, student attendants and social workers. And the last one is for those who occupy 'blue collar' occupations such as housekeepers, cleaners and gate-keepers.

These evaluation sheets although different do, however, emphasize certain qualities which have been studied in this research such as work commitment, relation with colleagues and supervisors, time valuation, responsibility, planning, professional advancement and educational and technical skills valuation. A summary of these three job performance evaluation sheets is presented in Appendix IV.

By searching related literature, and with the help of

the preliminary study along with the outcome of reviewing the evaluation sheets, an interview schedule was established. It aimed to identify the main work characteristics thought to be important for female employees in Saudi Arabia within their working and cultural contacts. Nine work characteristics are included. Some items were created by the researcher and others (as has been illustrated) were borrowed with modification from other studies. These nine working characteristics which are empirically investigated in Chapter Seven are:

- I Work Commitment
- II Working Co-operatively and Acceptance of Others' Differences
- III Change Orientation
- IV Educational and Technical Skill Valuation
- V Educational and Occupational Aspiration
- VI Responsibility
- VII Decision Making
- VIII Time Valuation
- IX Planning

## 2.8: The Statistical Treatment:

In order to test the hypothesis of the research on the significant effects of education, work experience and their interaction with the nine work characteristics of the sample, the participant's responses to the different items



on the nine themes stated above were rated numerically. The negative response was given the score 1, not sure 2, and positive response 3 (e.g. item (4) in work commitment: "Job should come first even if it means sacrificing time from recreation". Answer "Yes" was given as 3, "Sometimes" 2 and "No" 1). Appendix II indicates the scores for the different items and Chapter Seven presents the findings of the empirical work in relation to the nine work characteristics. Some items that are not applicable to Groups 3 and 4 (with no education) were treated as missing values and the comparisons in these items are limited to Groups 1 and 2.

The statistical analysis includes the percentage, the mean and the standard deviation of the four groups. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was applied for the nine work characteristics: (a) with groups as independent variables, (b) with education, work and their interaction as effects with the level of significant established at .05.

As has been indicated in section 2.1 of this chapter, in studying the work characteristics of Saudi female workers, the study needed both quantitative and qualitative data to uncover the role of the different factors involved and to carry out this study with the illiterate sample (groups 3 and 4). Thus, a detailed recorded interview was chosen as a basic instrument in conducting the field work.

## 2.9: The Nine Work Characteristics:

This section illustrates the significance of education, work experience and their interaction on the Saudi females' work characteristics. The findings of the study on these characteristics are analysed and presented in Chapter Seven.

### 1: Work Commitment:

Commitment to work focuses on the extent to which employees identify themselves with the organization's goals, value membership of it and intend to work hard to attain the overall organizational goals (Porter, Steers, Mowday and Boulian 1974; Steers 1977 in Steers and Porter 1979).

The preliminary study findings revealed that one of the major problems Saudi female employers face with their staff is that employees' family obligations affect their performance. This is reflected in frequent absenteeism, sickness, refusal of additional responsibilities and low interest in training.

The concern of this research is to establish an understanding of the commitment and the meaning of work in the lives of these employees and their understanding of work as a concept and as a career. This is likely to affect their performance and their commitment to work in terms of their dedication and their ability to balance work duties with other life and family obligations.



## 2: Working Co-operatively and Acceptance of Others'

### Differences:

Studies by Hallak and Caillods (1980), Utter (in Thomas) (1955), Deraniyagala, Dore and Little (1978) have illustrated the value employers attach to the interaction with colleagues when evaluating their employees. It is important to explore the ability of the study sample to work co-operatively with other members of staff and to accept their differences. This is particularly important in a traditional society like Saudi Arabia which puts emphasis upon relationship to relatives and tribal members rather than working relationships. However, working in public organizations is an avenue for mixing and working jointly with other employees from different tribes, provinces and countries. Does education or work experience affect the ways in which workers perceive others? Because Saudi Arabian females live in a segregated and limited social and working environment does their limited life experience affect their ability to accept their colleagues and adapt to their differences?

## 3: Change Orientation

Contemporary working organizations require their members to be able to adapt to changes in ideas, objectives, modes of administration and to the introduction of new technology, all of which aim to improve the quality and

efficiency of output in a competitive world. Developing countries may be particularly vulnerable to static modes of operation and administration, due to intensive bureaucracy and to the low level of information technology. Saudi Arabia is a society where changes and new ideas are regarded suspiciously. Within Saudi Arabian female working organizations and with the role of the GPGE as a conservative administration (as will be illustrated in Chapters Five and Six) how can and do female workers respond to changes brought to their work? Females by law are excluded from public life in order to keep their traditional beliefs and expectations. How do they orient themselves to accept change and new ideas being brought to both their work and their social lives?

#### 4: Educational and Technical Skills Valuation:

The importance of this work characteristic is best appreciated when taking into account the educational background of the participants. Field work data presented in Chapter Seven reveal no specific vocational training (apart from teacher training) that would provide the participants with the skills needed in the workplace. Do these female workers appreciate any training courses or in-service training programmes which the administration might provide? How do they evaluate their present experience, skills, and competence? What are their criteria for the



satisfactory work characteristics and skills needed to fulfil their work requirements?

5: Educational and Occupational Aspirations:

Success and advancement on the job are to a large extent determined by the willingness and the driving ambition of the individuals whose educational and occupational aspirations enable them to acquire more education, in-service training and assume the ability to handle more responsibilities.

The aims here are to explore the degree to which those women value themselves at work, value their careers and advancement at the professional level, and to investigate what are their educational and occupational aspirations, moreover, to explore their conflicting roles in the family and at work, since this may affect their career advancement. Equally, it is important to investigate other family members' perception of females as working women and how females themselves value their work compared to males - which eventually affects females' aspirations at the educational and occupational levels.

6: Responsibility:

The findings of Hallak and Caillods (1980) Deraniyagala, Dore and Little (1978) indicate the importance of responsibility in almost every job category, from

supervisory to secretarial.

Work, especially in an educational setting, requires the ability to respond to sudden responsibilities, handle problems relating to children's behaviour and safety, solve problems, deal with conflicts, propose solutions and have the ability to communicate effectively with other staff members. Are these the qualities that are recognized by the study sample who work in educational institutions? To what extent are female workers ready to respond to extra responsibilities proposed to them by their employers?

7: Decision Making:

This aspect seeks to uncover the extent to which Saudi females at work are able to initiate solutions and make decisions. The educational orientation of females together with their subordinate role in a society that is dominated by other groups such as religious forces and also their role expectations have worked to emphasize the low level of autonomy and individuality that can be exercised by the females. The practices of their working organization (the GPGE) with its autocratic administrative approach in dealing with female employees at the lower level (schools) as indicated by the relevant literature (Al-Hariri 1986: 415) and by its regulations, which will be discussed in Chapter Six, limit the ability and autonomy of those employees to make decisions and affect their self-confidence



and assertiveness in initiating solutions.

In this context, the study seeks to see if the education for females (in terms of its overall package of knowledge and practices) or their experience as working women has helped to bridge the gap between their tendency to submit to external male power on the one hand and/or to the need of their work in terms of taking decisions and initiating solutions on the other.

8: Time Valuation:

As Chapter Six illustrates, female workers in Saudi Arabia have real difficulties in maintaining their control over their private and working time, especially because of the legal ban preventing them from driving. Public transport is also limited as well as impractical. This subordinates females to the will and work schedules of their husbands, fathers, brothers to get them to and from work. Obviously this constrains women's movement and mobility.

Such conditions have psychological and sociological effects on women and their status. Having no access to the outside world for practical reasons subjects women to the will of others and enhances their dependency upon men. Time value and organization cannot be maximized. Does this affect females' use of time at work and their ability to follow work schedules? Can they maintain a regular morning attendance and stay longer at work if needed without worrying about transportation to and from work?

## 9: Planning:

This aspect seeks to investigate how females plan their tasks at work. Does their local religious and cultural orientation (which emphasizes God's will as opposed to the reality planned and run by individuals) affect their concept of future planning at work and in their private lives? How far has their education or experience at work affected their understanding and practices of planning?

### 2.10: Field Testing of the Interview Schedule:

Testing of the interview schedule used in the field work was undertaken to assess its suitability to the participants of the study and the clarity of the translation from English into Arabic. Eight cases were individually chosen to represent the four groups (2 in each group) with their distinctive educational and working experience background.

This testing revealed the substantial amount of time Groups 3 and 4 (No Education) required to respond to the interview questions. More open questions were also needed to enhance the participants' desire to talk about themselves, their work, and to generate more qualitative data that were not to be treated statistically. Four open-ended questions were added to the different themes in the interview schedule. These were:



- (i) Feelings and impressions when they first got the job. Difficulties they faced with other staff members and with the work task in the first year.
- (ii) Value of work: what does work mean to the participant? How valuable is their work to their career as working women?
- (iii) How does their education help them in their work and in what ways?
- (iv) How has their experience at work helped to develop their professional and personal skills?

In addition, a few questions were cancelled because they either did not appeal to the subjects, were irrelevant or repetitive. A reorganization of the different questions under the same themes was also carried out. A complete list of the themes and items of the work characteristics studied in this research before and after these changes is presented in Appendices I and II.

#### 2.11: The Interview Procedures:

In order to conduct the field work, access permission from the two administrations (the GPGE, and King Saud University) was required. Although permission for access took much longer than had originally been anticipated, especially from the GPGE, the field work was finally started on 16th December 1987 and was completed by 30th March 1988.

Eighty subjects were included (20 in each group of the four). Each participant was interviewed for not less than two hours. Meetings were arranged in advance to provide the researcher with sufficient time for interviewing.

More difficulties were inevitable with Groups 3 and 4 (with no education) who required more time than Groups 1 and 2. In many cases an arrangement for further meetings was necessary. Several individuals had specific difficulties with some items (e.g. question No. 6 in the educational and occupational skills valuation, Appendix II) in which they were asked to reorganize certain working characteristics according to their importance in their work. Since they were not able to read or write, this question took much longer time than was first anticipated.

#### 2.12: Summary:

This chapter has illustrated the data gathering instruments. A joint quantitative and qualitative approach in generating, analysing, and interpreting the data was applied. Four groups of women were chosen as the study sample. These groups differ in respect to their education and experience at work. Three main hypotheses were established to test the significant effect of education, work experience and their interaction with the work characteristics of the study's groups.



The development of the research instrument (the interview schedule) involved a review of major works in the literature relating to education and work. Several items in the interview schedules of this study were borrowed with modification from other related studies. Findings from a preliminary study were also used to develop some of the interview items. An interview schedule was established in which nine work characteristics were included.

The field work started in mid-December 1987 and lasted three and a half months. Eighty subjects were interviewed within the GPGE schools (intermediate and high schools) and at female campuses at King Saud University.

#### Note to Chapter Two

1. Teachers are responsible mainly for teaching preparation, instruction, and homework supervision of students' extra activities. Student attendants are responsible for discipline, attendance of staff and students, supervision of students during breaks and between classes and the organization of students. Secretaries are responsible for all the secretarial activities of the whole school and the headmistress and her deputy specifically (see internal regulation for

intermediate and high schools, GPGE 1980).

TV attendants (at the university's female centre) are responsible for students during lectures in which a male lecturer teaches female students through a closed circuit. The attendant is mainly responsible for supervision, attendance, conduct of exams, and transmitting results and papers to and from the male lecturers to the female section.



## Chapter Three

### Work Characteristics in Job Settings

#### Introduction:

Given the concern of the study with the work characteristics of women in Saudi Arabia, this chapter presents a review of the literature concerned with these dimensions. Section 3.1 considers the importance employers place on different characteristics within job settings. Section 3.2 illustrates the work characteristics most in demand in the different occupations. Section 3.3 gives an account of the acquisition process of these work characteristics and the role of both education and work experience in such a process. Because such characteristics are culturally determined and given the distinctive religious nature of Saudi Arabian society the last two sections of the chapter (3.4 and 3.5) look at the effect of the cultural and religious beliefs of the workers by examining the values and practices relating to work in the Gulf States and specifically in Saudi Arabia. Special emphasis is given to the role of Islam in this process and to the rights and obligations of employees as advocated by Islamic literature. However, in advance of the review, it is important to stress that whilst the clusters of issues presented in the chapter are the dominant ones within the literature, sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 show practices in

developing countries in general, but have not been widely explored either in relation to Saudi Arabia or in relation to the gender issue.

### 3.1: The Importance of Work Characteristics in the Job

#### Settings:

Many studies which have been carried out in bureaucratic and industrial organizations have indicated the importance of many different work characteristics in the performance of job tasks.

A series of research papers of the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex aimed to investigate the possible interaction between education and employment in a range of developing countries such as Ghana, Mexico and Sri Lanka. The prime objective was to examine the justification for using scholastic attainment to ration access to modern jobs (Oxenham 1980:2). The studies were also generated to test the relationship between different levels of education and job performance among groups of clerical workers. In each country, supervisors were asked to select the qualities and skills necessary for job performance.

The findings indicated that employers mentioned two sets of qualities and skills: (a) cognitive skills or behaviour directly related to the job itself (e.g. speed, accuracy); (b) socially effective skills involving relationships with other colleagues, commitment to work and



appearance.

In Ghana, cognitive skills such as memory and accuracy feature low on the list of factors mentioned by supervisors and clerks. More important were punctuality, obedience and willingness to work. In Mexico, supervisors mentioned the social/moral attributes more frequently than the cognitive ones. There were 56 characteristics mentioned such as ability to supervise, good relationships, responsibility, against 36 characteristics such as special knowledge, judgement and problem-solving ability. In the Mexican data, computer programming was the only job to require cognitive skills.

These findings suggest that for those employers, socially effective skills (i.e. non-cognitive work characteristics) were more important than the cognitive skills. However, the above studies concluded by indicating that, the relative importance of either the cognitive skills or social skills would vary largely according to the job in question (Oxenham 1980; Brook, Oxenham and Little 1978; Deraniyagala, Dore and Little 1978; Brook and Oxenham 1980; Little 1980-1983).

A study by a working party of the Manpower Services Commission in London (1978) aimed to investigate the unemployment problem among young people in Britain. This study indicated that willingness and attitudes towards work were thought to be the most important characteristics.

Employers indicated that the most frequently quoted reason for refusing job applications from young people were related to: attitude and personality 45%, appearance and manners 27%, and lack of basic education 24%, which overall suggests the value that employers place on social attributes and personal traits (Manpower Services Commission 1978).

Indeed, as Thomas (1956) indicated, empirical studies of occupational demands testify virtually without exception to the primary importance of personality traits over all other types of occupational requirements. In a study of a Californian county (quoted in Thomas 1956: 327), employers in different fields of agriculture, industry, wholesale, insurance and government services, were asked about their employees. Again personality traits were named more frequently than competence in the skills intrinsic to the job. Absence was a more major cause for discharge than job inefficiency.

Hallak and Caillods's (1980) study of the relationship between education and employment in Panama, Indonesia, Kenya and the South of France aimed to analyse the recruitment policies for different job categories. They found that firms use different criteria in choosing their employees depending not only on the job category but also on the type of recruitment, i.e. whether it is an initial hiring or an internal promotion. These recruitment criteria may be classified into three broad categories: (1) cognitive: which includes the educational level, vocational training,



experience, knowledge of a foreign language and results of intelligence tests; (2) prescriptive criteria which include not only the candidate's sex, age and marital status but also his state of health and police record; and finally (3) effective criteria, i.e. assessment of the candidate's personal qualities and attitudes.

From their data, it seems that cognitive and prescriptive criteria served to filter those candidates who appeared to be the most suited to the various jobs. The final selection and hiring decisions depended heavily upon performance data and upon the employer's opinion of the candidate's qualities, work characteristics in terms of record of absenteeism, motivation, attitude towards work and his ability to get on with people.

Within the Saudi Arabian setting, the study of work characteristics among employees, and especially women, has been given little importance. Khalil's (1979) study of the problem facing women working in administration in Jeddah, revealed that the lack of punctuality and the limited desire of the employees to improve their work performance were among the most common problems facing employers, which indicates the importance administrators place on such qualities. Al Rowaf's (1987) study of women in public administration in Saudi Arabia revealed that men and women in supervisory positions see competence as their first criterion for promotion. However, the second criterion for

females is being in the right place at the right time and, thirdly, communication skills. Men and women in Al Rowaf's study felt that men were more competent in skills such as decision making and stress management whereas women were competent in the affective domain of inter-relationships.

The preliminary investigation of the present thesis which has been illustrated in the previous chapter aimed to uncover the criteria and recruitment policies of some women's educational organizations in Riyadh and the degree of importance their organizations assign to the educational qualifications and to the personal work characteristics of the employees. The findings revealed that 45% of the employers surveyed thought that both educational qualification and personal characteristics have the same degree of importance. Forty per cent viewed personal and social characteristics as more important and only 15% thought of educational qualifications as more important. Their first criterion for good performance was the ability to adapt to work conditions which was mentioned by half of the sample. The second criterion was experience on the job and working co-operatively with peers. Initiative, leadership qualities and time valuation were among the personal working characteristics most needed. On the other hand, appearance was recorded as the lowest amongst all qualities mentioned, which may be attributed to women being in a segregated working environment. This is in contrast



with the findings of some western studies in which appearance was recorded highly (Hallak and Caillods 1980: 16; Manpower Services Commission, London 1978).

In sum, the data presented by the different studies, which subsequently help to develop some of the items in the interview schedule of this study, indicate that personal and social work characteristics tend to have considerable importance in the process of selection for employment by the different government organizations and private firms. Qualities such as punctuality, relationships with peers and positive attitudes towards work, play a vital role for the person obtaining the job and in job performance across the different occupational categories in most contemporary work organizations. This reinforces the importance of studying the work characteristics of employees within the Saudi Arabian setting and more importantly in relation to the gender issue. Chapter Seven reveals the extent to which these dimensions relate to work contexts in Saudi Arabia.

### 3.2: Personal Work Characteristics most needed in Work

#### Settings:

Inkeles and Smith's (1974) study of the value and attitudes of modern men which was carried out in six developing countries<sup>1</sup> identifies work characteristics that are most needed in performing jobs in modern organizations.

They grouped the qualities required of men working in modern institutions as: (i) taking an interest in public affairs; (ii) exercising their rights and performing their duties as members of a community larger than that of the kinship network and the immediate geographical locality; (iii) keeping to fixed schedules; (iv) observing objective evidence; (v) deferring legitimately to authority not by traditional or religious sanctions but by technical competence; (vi) showing readiness to adapt to innovation; (vii) displaying a tolerance to diverse backgrounds of others; (viii) displaying persistent efforts and confident optimism and showing little tolerance of fatalism and passivity. Some of the items in these categories have been adopted for the present study in examining the nine work characteristics of women in Saudi Arabia as has been illustrated in the previous chapter. Hallak and Caillods's study (1980: 16) shows that with every job category employers associate a profile of attitudes and qualities that corresponds to the employee's position within the organization. For instance, in Indonesia, management is expected to possess initiative, leadership abilities, authority, integrity and a sense of human relations. A foreman or supervisor is also expected to possess all these and, in addition, he has to be punctual and rarely absent so as to set a good example. A secretary will be required to have initiative and integrity, but she must also have a good



appearance, be punctual and disciplined.

Utter's study (quoted in Thomas 1956:332-4) of the relationship between personality and character requirements in jobs in the Civil Service agency in the U.S. reached similar findings. He covered four occupational categories: professional, semi-professional, skilled and unskilled occupations.

The ability to work effectively with others was mentioned in more than 90% of the job statements in each of the occupational categories which suggests its vital importance. Other qualities such as integrity, independent judgement and resourcefulness were mentioned most frequently at the professional level and declined steadily through other categories. Other attributes including reliability, energetic work habits, display of initiative and clear thinking were mentioned less frequently at the professional level and increased throughout the other categories.

Deraniyagala, Dore and Little's (1978: 91-2) study of qualification and employment in Sri Lanka asked supervisors who were interviewed to suggest as many ideas as they wished in their account of good job performance. Social skills such as the ability to handle subordinates and relationships with peers were mentioned most. Personal attributes such as honesty, reliability, loyalty and punctuality were also important for good job performance.

For supervisors in managerial positions, the most frequently mentioned criteria came under the social skills. Every one (13 out of 13) of the supervisors mentioned the ability to deal with people; 7 out of 13 mentioned initiative and honesty; "integrity", "loyalty" and "hard work" were each reported by 4 out of 13. For clerical groups in this study, the most important skills were the cognitive ones whereas in other studies (Hallak and Caillods 1980, Utter 1956) working effectively with others seems to be most needed in all job categories including clerical.

The Manpower Services Commission's study revealed that the characteristics employers thought essential or desirable in recruits were willingness in attitudes to work (76%), whereas obtaining a specific educational qualification was mentioned by only 23% of all the survey sample. Other qualities mentioned were, a good level of numeracy, appearance/tidiness and the ability to communicate verbally (1978: 38).

From the previous studies, it can be seen that although the value employers place upon certain characteristics depends largely on the occupation in question, the ability to work effectively with others is considered by most studies as the one in greatest demand. Other characteristics such as a positive attitude towards work, initiative, reliability are also recognized as important for job performance. Again, Chapter Seven reveals the extent to



which these dimensions are important in the female Saudi Arabian context.

### 3.3: The Acquisition Process of Work Related Characteristics

In studying the effect of education and work experience on work characteristics, a distinction has to be drawn between the cognitive outcome of education which is related to work (such as memory, accuracy and other intellectual skills) and the non-cognitive outcome of education which is related to those social and personal work characteristics (such as commitment to work, good human relations, responsibility) (Little 1980: 19, Deraniyagala, Dore and Little 1978: 71).

In general, different factors are involved in forming these characteristics such as the family and the childhood socialization processes which are considered major factors in developing values and attitudes in childhood and throughout adolescence (Reich and Adcock 1976).

The class structure and the person's allocation within this structure is another determinant of such characteristics. The Marxist perspective views social experience as a crucial element in shaping beliefs, attitudes and values (Turner 1983).

However, this study does not intend to study these factors or the process of acquisition as much as studying the importance and the appreciation of these work

characteristics among female employees in Saudi Arabia, which reveals their attitudes towards work in general and the meaning they attach to their work roles. Nevertheless, since the study is concerned with the significant effect of both education and experience on these characteristics, a special reference to both factors is necessary.

School, as a social organization is an important determinant in the process of acquisition of work related attributes. Students at school are not only taught reading and writing, they also develop attitudes and values. Inkeles and Smith's study (1974) revealed that in all the six countries they studied, education emerged as unmistakably the most powerful force in shaping the attitudes and values of men working in modern organizations. The study suggests that:

"Those who had been in school longer were not only better informed and verbally more fluent. They had a different sense of time and a stronger sense of personal and social efficacy, participated more actively in communal affairs, were more open to new ideas, new experience and new people, interacted differently with others and showed more concern for subordinates and minorities. They valued science more and accepted change more readily."

Blaug (1973) suggests that the economic value of education lies not solely in its ability to impart productive skills or technical knowledge, but in its role in influencing attitudes, motivation, social and communication skills. Education helps in the formation of initiative,



self-reliance and other personal attributes which employers value.

Brenner (1968: 29-30) also found schooling behaviour (absentees, grades) to be related to work performance later in life. He used high school data of his sample which indicated that teachers' ratings of student grades and school absence were both significantly related to the supervisory rating of those students at work. School absence was also a good indicator of non-attendance at work. However, Orpen's study (1978) found that differences in work values among employers are not related to schooling as much as to the cultural background of the employees.

On the other hand, Bowles and Gintis see schooling as a device to foster and reward the development of certain capacities and the expression of certain needs while thwarting and penalizing others. Through this process, educational systems tailor the self-concepts, aspirations and social class identifications of individuals to the requirements of the social divisions of labour.

Values such as punctuality, obedience, conformity, a sense of duty and deference to authority are highly valued in modern organizations and are reproduced in schools. Other sets of attitudes and behaviour such as creativity, curiosity, independence and co-operative group work are not highly valued in the typical workplace and therefore not encouraged in schools (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Bowles,

Gintis and Mayer 1975; Bowles 1978; Gintis 1971; Lewins, Little and Colclough 1983).

Gintis's study (1971) of workers' productivity revealed that the contribution of schooling to work earnings or occupational status cannot be explained by the relationship between schooling and the level of cognitive achievement. Rather, his data strongly suggested the importance of non-cognitive personality characteristics which affect earnings and the productivity of workers. Gintis, through a calculation of the correlation between personality variables and different achievement tests found that in schools, certain personality traits are rewarded such as acceleration of development, self-evaluation, perseverance and suppression of aggression, whereas other traits are negatively rewarded such as initiative, originality and creative activities (Gintis 1971: 267-279).

Occupational experience is also another important factor in the acquisition process. Inkeles and Smith (1974) found that occupational experience along with exposure to the mass media would inculcate an openness to new experiences, an awareness of differences in opinion and higher level of information, all of which are qualities that contribute to man's modern values that are valued in the workplace (Inkeles and Smith 1974: 309; Lerner 19: 53). Kohn (1977) in his study of values considers work conditions to be determining factors for values and behaviour of



workers. Conditions such as closeness of supervisor, the substance of work with data, with materials and with people and the complexity of the work organization, all are significantly related to values and orientation towards work.

In summary, as the literature suggests, education emerges as the most powerful determinant of a worker's characteristics. Nevertheless, what kind of values and attitudes are fostered in schools remains to be debated among the radical and more traditional advocates in the literature.

On the one hand, education emphasizes certain characteristics which are valued by employers such as responsibility, social and communication skills; on the other, the same education emphasizes other sets of work values such as obedience, conformity and reference to authority which maintains the power relationship between employers and employees and determines who controls the means of production.

Experience at work is also viewed as important in developing and strengthening work related attributes although, as the literature revealed, experience does not receive as much attention in its effect on work characteristics as education has received.

### 3.4: The Role of Cultural Factors:

The function of all factors involved in creating and affecting work characteristics is culturally determined. The attitude of people towards work reflects the way their societies' values work. For instance, in urban - industrial societies such as Europe and North America, occupational roles are distinct from kin-based roles and relationships. Parents, for example, are no longer well placed to make the social connections necessary to put their children in touch with a suitable job (Corson 1988: 11), unlike some Eastern societies in which family relations still play a major role (Sirageldin, Sherbiny and Sirageldin 1984:180; Al-Awaji 1971: 249). In this section an account is given of the distinctive nature of the values and attitudes attributed to the Arabs' and, specifically, to the Gulf States' societies.

Barakat (1984: 66) distinguishes between three sets of values and attitudes within the existing Middle Eastern societies: (1) the Bedouins who value pastoral relations among tribal members, joint ownership and personal freedom which are reflected in their dislike of government employment and team work; (2) the peasants who value family relationships, religious beliefs and tend to follow a relatively class orientated system in which a few powerful, wealthy families control the village economy and provide employment; (3) the urban communities which tend to have, three group values or classes. These consist of (a) values



of the ruling class (i.e. the ruling families in the Gulf States and military personnel in other Arab states) who value material accumulation, quick profit, modernization and travelling. Religion is used by this class as a means of control and a source of legitimacy (Abu Almajed 1985: 37, Ibrahim 1982: 169). There are also the values of (b) the petty bourgeoisie (middle class urban-rural immigrants) who tend to look up to the ruling class values and modes of social behaviour. They use education in order to accomplish their social aspirations; family-kin relationships are valued for comfort and possible connection and religion is considered a fundamental source of relationship and behaviour. And finally (c) the values of the middle and lower classes which, because of their financial constraints, are mostly concerned with family relationships and religion.

In the Gulf States, the work values and the tradition of work as a concept and as practice were well known before the oil boom of 1975. Women specifically, were engaged in husbandry and agricultural activities. The United Nations Economic Commission for 1974, estimated that 75.20% of Saudi Arabian female labour was engaged in agricultural and fishing activities (in Harfoush 1983: 132). Abu Kallied (1985: 144) indicated that in the Asir region in the south of Saudi Arabia before the oil boom, female labour was regarded as a major factor in the economic prosperity of that region. Women were involved in cultivating the land, watering, and selling their products in the local markets.

This tradition of work, however, was overtaken by the sudden wealth of the Gulf States (Saudi, Kuwait, U.A.E., Bahrain, Qatar and Oman) from which another set of values and behaviour have emerged which are considered destructive to development. The availability of cheap foreign labour and home servants has created dependency and a feeling of superiority and domination over minorities. Hard work is no longer regarded as having social status, rather material possessions are considered as such. Manual work has been given to foreign labourers. Citizens have moved from "blue collar" jobs (which are assigned to foreigners) into "white collar" jobs in administration and government offices (Al Najjar 1985: 123). Work related values have deteriorated. A pathetic attitude towards work, over-staffing of government offices with minimal productivity and quick profit, are all major problems facing these states (Al Awajy 1971: 223; Ibrahim 1982: 177; Al-Rumehi 1982: 237). I would argue, however, that such attitudes and problems are unlikely to be a permanent feature of the Gulf States since they are not fundamentally and culturally rooted in these societies which have experienced the tradition of work for men and women alike. Thus, such attitudes could be termed "the oil boom values" that have seen major changes since the fall of oil prices in 1983.

### 3.5: The Role of Islamic Beliefs in Determining Work

#### Characteristics

Studies in sociology of religion have emphasized the



fundamental role played by religion in the function of all societies. Durkheim (1915) stated that "no known society is without religion". He sees religion as a system of beliefs and practices that arises from social causes. For Durkheim, religious beliefs work to

"raise man above himself and to make him lead a life superior to that which he would lead if he followed his own individual whims" (Durkheim 1915: 240-146)

The Marxist interpretation of religion, however, sees it as an expression of class. Beliefs and attitudes are directly related to a person's allocation within the class structure. The bourgeoisie as Engels stated, support religious revivalism, religious education and moral reinforcement because

"the people must be kept in order by moral means and the first and foremost of all moral means of action upon the masses is and remains 'religion'." (Engels 1975 edition: 38; in Turner 1983: 75).

In the Muslim societies however, Islam is considered a major determinant of history, political and social structure. Barakat (1984: 231) stipulates that Islam helps believers to understand and deal with the world. There is an authoritarian relationship between God and his creatures who fear God's anger and work for forgiveness. Islamic values control all aspects of a Muslim's life; particularly behaviour between the sexes (Bo Utas 1983:2).

Historians and sociologists have long debated the

nature of Islamic values and beliefs in relation to social behaviour including work. Weber sees Islam as a "triumph" of Mecca's merchants, financiers and tribal anarchy. Islam, he claimed, has experienced a persistent conflict between the values of orthodoxy which are urban and the value of the desert which reflects entirely different social conditions. This has caused tension between the urban morality of Islam which finds its highest expression in the Sharia or Islamic laws and the tribal traditions of courage, independence and strength (Turner 1974: 141).

Turner argues, however, that Islam contains both the morality of desert dwellers and of merchants. Islam on one side is a "faith of tradesmen and merchants" and on the other, its moral sternness emphasizes law and order and individual responsibility.

However, with the growth of Islamic dynasties, this early vocabulary of motives in Islam was emphasised and extended. With Ben Umayya (660-750 A.D.), there was a great emphasis on those aspects of the Quran and Hadith (the Prophet Mohammed's sayings) which legitimised and encouraged business activities with the expansion of trade. With the Abbasids (750-1285 A.D.), a different culture with its attendant view of appropriate motivation which stressed discipline, obedience and imitation came to dominate Islam (Turner 1974: 142). An alliance was formulated between the military and religious establishment al-Ulama.



The Sharia (Islamic Law) came to embody the only legitimate language of conduct as a formalised and unchanged code of life.

Weber's interpretation of Islamic ethics came from his analysis of Sharia development. During these dynasties and from 1100 A.D. independent judgement in legal matters had been ended with the closure of the "gate of ijtihad" (innovation). It followed that the supreme moral stance was one of imitation (taglid) "unquestionable acceptance of authoritative statements of the Sharia". Under patrimonial conditions, therefore, a new vocabulary of motives was elaborated on by the al-Ulama (religious leaders) and instilled by the Madarsa (schools of thought in Islam).<sup>2</sup> The new orthodoxy was perfectly suited to the Law and Order requirements of the dominant class, since control of self through subjection to divine law became the highest motive. Innovation (bida) became a criminal activity, and it was under these conditions that Islam was to be characterised as a slavish, fatalistic religion, a religion of accommodation to patrimonial rule (Turner 1974: 143).

This analysis of motives in Islam by Weber has been heavily criticized by scholars. Turner (1974) considers it as too rigid to deal with the numerous changes in motivation and values which can be detected in Islamic societies with changes in their social, economic structure and working relationship through the countries.

The fatalistic view of Islam by Weber has also been criticized by Rodinson (1982) who attributed it to popular belief in eighteenth and nineteenth century western writings that view eastern societies as fatalistic and lacking initiative where life is controlled and decided by God in a pre-written faith which individuals have no power to challenge. Rodinson argues that Islam is a religion and a state system, working with and for the state unlike the church whose function is limited to the religious level. Thus Islam requires its members to work hard to defend and fight for its beliefs and to administrate the Islamic state which requires dedication and hard work.

Indeed through the Quran and Hadith (the Prophet's sayings) there is a constant emphasis on the value of work as a religious duty just as in praying or fasting. In "Taubba Sura" (verse 105) it says:

"the prophet Mohammed says: 'By Act of God and his messenger the believers will see your acts, then he shall appraise you of what you were doing'."

Work in Islam does not include only the contemporary meaning of paid work. It includes all types of work from the Jihad (Holy War), to worship and knowledge seeking. Al-Masry (1975: 22) indicated that the basic concept of Islamic economy is work and the urge for it. In "Al-Balad Sura" (verse 4) it says:



"we have indeed created man in drudgery"  
meaning that man has to work hard to inhabit the earth.

The Prophet said

"Nobody eats better than from his earning; that prophet Daood ate from his hard work." (Al Bukhari Vol. VI)

In another Hadith the Prophet said:

"God will forgive a man who slept exhausted by work." (Al Masry 1975: 28)

The high value placed on hard work challenges both the pre-Islamic nomadic values which saw robbing and killing of members of other tribes as a sign of courage and independence and which regarded agricultural and farming activities (because they involved manual workers) as low occupations (Jamal Aldean 1967: 10) and challenges the western view in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries of Islam and Middle Eastern societies.

Moreover, Weber's static interpretation of Islamic history could be weakened by the constant changes in Islamic societies. Ibn Kaladun (1961 edition: 122-125) (an Islamic sociologist 1332-1406 A.D.) attributes any given values of a certain society to the economic and social status of that society at a given period of history. Nevertheless, the closure of the "gate of ijtihad", innovation in Islamic law, has indeed affected the political and social structure and its divine motivation in Islamic societies up to the present time. In Saudi Arabia, for example, critical thinking and

innovation are not a value that is encouraged by the religious establishment whose legitimacy rests on the unquestionable acceptance of authoritative statements of Sharia and the al-Ulama (religious leaders). This affects the way in which individuals respond to authority and perceive its legitimacy, including work and social order. This affects the way women, for example, view their status in society. It also affects individual readiness for change, innovation, and acceptance of other fellow members in the work setting.

### 3.6: The Rights and Obligations of Workers in Islam:

Islam starts with a basic assumption of the right to work for every individual regardless of sex or background. This may be derived from the story of the man who came to the Prophet (Mohammed) and asked him for work to feed his children. The Prophet gave him a wooden instrument and asked him to gather wood and sell it and to come to him later. Al Masry (1975: 25) argues that this story has two implications: (1) the state is the prime agency responsible for providing employment for its citizens as the Prophet did, (2) the unemployed should have the right to work. In another incident, the Prophet said

"that anybody who works for you should eat and dress just the same and not to be given an overload of work." (Al Najjar:36)

There is also the right to fair wages. In one of the Prophet's Hadith:



"Allah said, I will be an antagonist to three types of people on the day of resurrection: 1 - one who makes a covenant in my name but proves treacherous, 2- one who sells a free person and eats his price, and 3- one who employs someone and takes full work from him but does not pay him for his labour." (Sahih Al Bukari Vol. III 1971: 258)

On the other hand, the Prophet and the lives of his followers indicate the expectation of workers in terms of performance, personal and work characteristics.

The Prophet's history emphasizes the importance of employing the right person in the right place. The Prophet Mohammed said

"Anyone who is in charge of a Muslim and employs someone for any reason while there is a better person for the job is faithless to God and his Prophet."

In Islam, the worker should agree that he will be able to guarantee his work before taking up any job. Lack of experience or knowledge may result in shortcomings of his work for which he is responsible. The Prophet said

"who cheats on us is not from us as a Muslim nation" (Al Masry 1975: 67).

Perfection and hardwork is also welcomed by Islam. The Prophet said:

"God likes his worker to bring his work to perfection" (Al Masry 1975: 33).

In "Tauba Sura" (verse 105):

"Act for God and his messenger and the believers will see your acts, then he shall praise you for what you were doing."

Islam also asks workers to abandon laziness and work

hard. In the famous phrase of Aumar Ibn Elkatab (fellow Prophet and a Muslim leader) who saw one of the Muslims staying in a mosque praying and reading the Koran with no other work and said:

"Don't sit down here asking God to send you your daily bread. The sky does not rain Gold and Silver"  
(Al Jwhary: 1981).

This indicates the importance of hard work and commitment to it unlike the idea of fatalism and laziness which is a sign of Islam to some scholars (Weber 1968 edition; Amin 1985).

Furthermore good human relations within the work environment are also regarded by Islam as important for a good job performance. The Prophet said

"The believers in their caring and loving of one another are like one body, if one part is sick, the rest of the body will be affected by sleepiness and fever."

He also said

".....and deal with others in a good manner."  
(Al Nawawi: 1979: 42).

These quotations all indicate that Islamic teaching emphasizes certain work characteristics that are considered important in contemporary working organizations. This eventually would affect the work attributes of workers especially in a religious environment like Saudi Arabia. Islam has emphasized certain work characteristics such as hard work and good relationships, but subdued others such as innovation and acceptance of change.

At the same time, as this section also illustrates,



there is a philosophical and religious independence in the role of women (and the gender divide) in society which, hitherto, as constrained their function in the workplace. This is more fully explored in Chapter Five.

### 3.7: Summary and Conclusion:

The literature indicates that personal, non-cognitive work characteristics have a considerable importance in the selection process for employment, and although the value employers place upon certain characteristics depends largely on the occupation in question, the ability to work effectively with others is considered as one of the greatest demands in the workplace. This goes with other characteristics such as a positive attitude towards work, initiative and responsibility.

Many factors are involved in developing individuals' work characteristics. Nevertheless, education is one of the most important factors along with others such as work experience.

The historical development of Islamic values (i.e. the closure of the "gate of ijtihad", and the alliance between the ruling classes and religious establishment) and Islam itself as a code of reference for values and beliefs in Muslim societies have both affected individuals' values and attitudes including work characteristics and behaviour in the work settings. Islam emphasizes certain work

characteristics such as commitment to work, good human relationships and hard work which eventually would affect women's work attributes in a thoroughly religious environment like Saudi Arabia. Islam, however, discourages others characteristics such acceptance of change, innovation and rebellion against authority or control.

### Notes to Chapter Three

1. The study by Inkeles and Smith (1974) was carried out in Argentina, Chile, India, Israel, Nigeria and East Pakistan.
2. To understand the development of the Sharia (Islamic Law) and its interpretations, it is important to understand how this law was formulated.  
After the Prophet's death, Muslims had to rely on hadiths (the Prophet's sayings and tradition) to face the new circumstances which were legitimated by a chain of recognized transmitters or Isnad. By the ninth century, hadiths had greatly multiplied and, since there were obvious contradictions between different hadiths and between the oral tradition and the Koran,



the need to rationalize and systematize traditions had to be faced. A distinctive interpretation of legal sources soon emerged and became institutionalised as schools or rites of Law. These madahbs were headed by their imams or religious leaders who were noted for the exercise of Judgement or ijtihad in their investigation of sources in the eighth and ninth centuries. Four men became the imams of four legal schools which were to dominate Islam down to the modern day. Between their schools, major problems and issues in the field of Islamic Law were solved. However, since 1100 AD the "gate of ijtihad" has been closed (Turner 1974: 113).

## Chapter Four

### Education and Employment: A Theoretical Framework

#### Introduction

This chapter elaborates on the never-ending debate about the link between education and employment. In this context, the theories of the labour market are presented. The role of education as viewed by these theories is emphasized and with each of these theories a number of studies which examine or critically challenge these theories are discussed.

The main purpose of this discussion is to provide the theoretical background to identify and understand the main features of the Saudi female labour market which are presented in the second section of this chapter. The chapter does not set out to give a purely economic account of these theories or to look at how they apply to the Saudi female labour market. Rather, it is intended to provide an overall picture of these theories which are then used to explain particular features of the female labour market since each one of these theories supplements but does not supplant the other.

This chapter is made up of two sections.

The first section, section A, presents the theories of the labour market. These are: 4.1 The Neo-Classical



Approach to the Labour Market which includes: 4.1.1: The Human Capital Theory; 4.1.2: The Screening or Signalling Hypothesis; 4.1.3: The Job Competition Model; and 4.2: The Dual Approach to the Labour Market which includes 4.2.1: The Radical Theory of the Segmented Labour Market with its variations and critics. With each of these theories, a critique of its main assumptions and a review of some of the studies which examined these theories especially in developing countries are provided.

The second section, section B, consists of 4.3 which provides a summary and conclusion about these theories and their applicability to the Saudi female labour market. 4.3.1 is an illustration of the main features of the female labour market in Saudi Arabia; 4.3.2 considers how the theories discussed in section A explain the major functions of the female market. In this context, and due to the peculiarity of that market which cannot be explained by earlier theories of the labour market, a model is developed to explain its major functions and the role of segregation as a main determinant of other functions within the Saudi female labour market.

## A: Theories of the Labour Market

### 4.1: The Orthodox/Neo-classical Analysis of the Labour Market:

This approach stipulates the existence of a "market" in which demand and supply interact to determine how much commodities or services are exchanged and at what price. As Sirageldin, Sherbiny and Serageldin (1984:16) indicated, there is an assumption of a perfect condition of competition in the market where employers view workers as a homogeneous unit who are able to move freely and respond to economic incentives. Workers have a perfect knowledge of the market needs and respond to satisfy them and set up ways which these needs require.

Thus, the labour service is determined by the market in which the number of workers needed is decided by agents' "demand" and workers' "supply" which interact to determine the size and allocation of work effort and the wage rate acceptable. Any oversupply of workers will gradually disappear with time when wages are depressed, which in turn discourages human capital investment that forces the supply of graduates to fall (Pang Eng Fong and Liu Pak Wai 1975). On the other hand, employers try to assess their cost, maximize their profits and set prices that equal the marginal productivity of labour.



However, in the last three decades with the persistence of unemployment and imperfect knowledge of the market, the notion of homogeneous labour has changed. Neo-classical economies have incorporated skill differentials among individuals into the notion of labour which has led to the development of the human capital theory (Carnoy 1977: 26).

#### 4.1.1: The Concept of Human Capital Theory

The concept of human capital theory as developed by Schultz (1961), stems from the assumption that people invest in themselves through different types of investment including education and training which in turn improves their productive capabilities and enhances their own value in the labour market.

The unit of analysis in this theory is individual behaviour: individual motivations to take a specific investment by embarking on more education or training which improves their employability. According to the advocates of the human capital theory, Schults, Becker and Mincer (1962), the structure of wages and salaries is primarily determined by investment in schooling, health and on-the-job training, searching for information about job opportunities and by investment in migration.

The basic assumption here is that the equal distribution of investment in manpower equalizes the earnings of human agents. The large differences in earnings

found between those with education and skills and those with no education and no skills or with poor health is a result of real differences in productivity connected with one form or another of human investment such as education, health or on-the-job training.

This assumption indicates that education and other forms of human investment enhance the productivity of workers by improving their work performance and enable them to achieve a higher level of output which, in turn, improves their relative wages. Thus, those individuals who possess these forms of human investment would have higher earnings than those without, because of higher productivity. Theoretically, then, all forms of human investment including education and on-the-job training would enable all the labour sectors regardless of their background characteristics such as sex or ethnicity to find more interesting and high earning jobs which may raise their occupational aspirations without any form of discrimination within the labour market.

This, however, can be challenged by the different types of discrepancies in job opportunities, promotion prospects and wage levels among different sections of the labour force including white and blacks, between males and females and among other ethnic groups. Indeed, many aspects of the human capital theory have been challenged by both neo-classical and radical economists. Shaffer (1961) questions



the theory's definition of investment since investment in human capital includes everything that tends directly or indirectly to increase man's productivity such as food, shelter, recreation, entertainment and travel. Thurow (1972) doubted the importance of the economic role assigned to education in equalizing the income of labour. By analysing the distribution of income, education and intelligence in the American male labour force of 1965, Thurow found that the distribution of education and IQ were more equal than the distribution of income. In fact, while the distribution of education has become more equal over the post-war period the distribution of income has not. The persistence of income inequality, poverty and the unemployment phenomenon are all features which the human capital theory cannot explain.

Bowles and Gintis (1975) proposed other fundamental challenges. For them, the formulation of the distribution of income in this theory is determined solely by conditions of labour supply; demand conditions such as the market structure, technical changes, economic dualism and other aspects of income distribution are ignored. More serious perhaps is the naive assumption of income distribution which, for them, is not directly related to differences in human resources as proposed by the human capital theory as much as the structural characteristics of the capitalist economy, affected by the relative power of

various classes, races, sexes and other groups of labour.

A vast number of studies have examined the assumed relationship between education, earnings and productivity as proposed by this theory. Psacharopoulos's (1977) study of schooling, experience and earnings among male Moroccan employees supports the notion of human capital theory on earning, since differences in schooling and experience among these employees explain a very large proportion of relative income inequality. Wiles (1974) has also indicated that a great deal of evidence does exist to support the assumption that differences in schooling are major determinants of differences in wages and income. The investigation by Sirageldin et al. (1984) of the level of wages and the accumulation of human capital relating to education and training of Saudi male labour, suggests a strong positive association between education and earnings; the monthly salary of their sample increased by about 50% among those with formal education.

Blaug's (1972) study of the correlation between education and earning which used data from 30 countries indicated that employers pay educated people more even when their education has taught them no specific skills because they are more achievement-oriented, motivated, more self-reliant, act with great initiative in problem-solving situations, assume supervisory responsibilities and benefit from work experience and on-the-job training.



On the other hand, Carnoy (1978) questions the positive association of years of schooling to productivity as proposed by the human capital theory where other factors such as differences between individuals in personality traits, values, attitudes and other modes of self-presentation are assumed to be secondary components of job performance. Carnoy questions the productivity assumption since productivity on the job may not be directly related to what was actually learned in the educational institutions. A number of studies have also questioned this assumed relationship between schooling and productivity and suggested in many cases that workers with less education may not necessarily perform work to a lower standard than those with more education.

Leonor (1976) described four studies from four countries which investigated the relationship between education and productivity. Three of these studies were in agriculture and one in manufacturing industry. The findings indicate the importance of other variables such as technology and modernization in addition to education in influencing productivity.

The Institute of Development studies (IDS) project on employees' use of educational qualification conducted a test of the relationship between education and productivity in three developing countries, Ghana, Mexico and Sri Lanka (Little 1980). The supervisor's estimate of a job

description and the qualities of subordinates considered necessary for a low and a high level of productivity was used as a measure of productivity which was then used to rate their employees' performance. Different work groups were examined from guards to salesmen to computer programmers. The result shows no consistent positive relationships between the level of education and productivity for a variety of different types of work.

Godfrey (1977) also found education had no significant effect on the productivity of craftsmen's performances in craft skills in Kenya. He assessed the difference in performance in these tests between candidates with different educational qualifications and found that those who had undergone a full-time training course did worse at all grades of the test than those who had not.

This however, does not indicate that education has a zero effect on productivity in the modern sector. Colclough (1982) reviewed recent research findings which showed that primary schooling increases labour productivity in both the urban and rural sectors and that the economic returns on such investment are typically high.

An overall assessment of this theory suggests that education plays a vital economic role in increasing labour earnings and productivity, as indicated by many studies. However, the question remains whether we attribute this increase in earnings to a real productivity of labour (however it is measured) or to the employer's use of the



educational qualifications as a screening device.

#### 4.1.2: The Screening or Signalling Hypothesis

Although the human capital theory asserts that individuals who invest in themselves earn more because of employment and productivity, it does not explain, however, why that is so and why employers prefer those with more education and training. Is it because, they possess more skills or is it because they have more desirable abilities and motivations?

The role of the human investment variable and, most importantly, of education in hiring have led to the screening or signalling hypotheses. As Spence (1973) explains, in most job markets the employers are not sure of the productive capabilities of an individual at the time of hiring. What they do is observe a plethora of personal data in the form of observable characteristics and attributes of the individuals which ultimately determines the hiring, the offered wages and, in the end, the allocation of jobs to people and people to jobs in the market.

Stiglitz (1975), although he highlights the considerable screening practices on the job through the individual style of dress, accent and ethnic groups, emphasizes the importance of education as the primary determinant of one's initial job opportunities.

Educated workers in the screening hypotheses are paid more, not because of their superior knowledge or skills but

because employers recognize that they have higher innate abilities and certain characteristics and attitudes that make them more useful as workers than those who lack the experience of formal education. As Woodhall (1987) indicates, schooling is treated here as a "filter", "signal" or "screening device" which enables employers to identify those with superior abilities and personal attributes such as motivation, self-discipline and positive attitudes to work which would make them more productive.

Lazear (1977) contrasted the screening treatment of education with the productive augmentation view of schooling as advocated by the human capital theory. Where the schooling has no effect on skills and thus it is not productive, the human capital position holds that schools actually do alter an individual's productivity not simply by producing an "optimal sort", but primarily by augmenting an individual's expert ability. The role of schooling as a screening device has run into serious objections. Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1985) have questioned this basic assumption. According to them, initial screening could occur when employers hire someone on the basis of expected productivity as indicated by the candidate's educational qualifications. However, employers continue to pay educated workers more throughout their working lives only when they have direct evidence about their productivity and are not required to rely on education as a screening



device.

Blaug (1976) limits the use of this hypothesis to those with starting salaries and not for the earnings of long time employees in different firms. Earnings are not only highly correlated with length of schooling but also with years of work experience. An employer, as Blaug explains, has ample opportunity with long-time employees to acquire independent evidence of job performance without continuing to rely on educational qualifications. Blaug (1983) has also questioned the role of schooling in this hypothesis in which education merely identifies students with particular attributes acquired by birth or by family background but does not in itself produce or in any way improve those attributes. Further, Carnoy (1978) indicates that this hypothesis gives no indication of which of these attributes are productive.

The use of screening could be even more difficult in less developed countries (LDCs). As Oxenham demonstrated (1984), the phenomenon of qualification acceleration in LDCs has raised the hiring criteria for most jobs which in turn drives individuals to acquire more education up to the level set up by the market. Our notion is that the possession of certain educational qualifications does not necessarily mean a possession of certain attributes or ability level as much as a response to the needs of that market.

Dore (1976) used human capital theory and screening to explain the correlation between earnings and educational qualifications. He indicated various institutional and historical factors which cause considerable differences in the relative importance of the different mechanisms explaining this correlation in various countries. Dore pointed out that there is an important general difference between early and late developers. Schools in LDCs are generally less effective in fostering the sort of mental attitudes and abilities which are conducive to economic development chiefly because, for a variety of reasons, schooling is more examination-oriented than in richer countries.

#### 4.1.3: The Job Competition Model

This model as developed by Thurow (1972) and Thurow and Lucas (1972) stipulated that in a labour market based on job competition, an individual's income is determined by (a) his relative position in the labour queue, and (b) the distribution of job opportunities in the economy. Wages are based on the characteristics of the job and workers are distributed across job opportunities on the basis of their relative position in the labour queue. According to this model, labour skills do not exist in the labour market; on the contrary, most actual job skills are acquired informally through on-the-job training after a worker finds an entry



job and a position on the associated promotional ladder.

The labour market in this model is primarily a market, not for matching the demands for, and suppliers of, different job skills but for matching trainable individuals with training ladders. Because most skills are acquired on the job, it is the demand for job skills which creates the supply of job skills. The labour queue depends upon the distribution of background characteristics such as age, sex, educational attainment and previous skills and upon employers' ranking of these characteristics. The job distribution is governed by three factors: (1) the character of technical progress which generates certain kinds of jobs in a certain proportion; (2) the sociology of wage determination, trade unions, traditions of wage differentials, etc; and (3) the distribution of training costs between employees and employers which will influence the wage that is associated with each job.

Education in this mode is used as a defensive necessity. As Thurow (1972) illustrates, as the supply of educated labour increases, individuals find that they must improve their educational level simply to defend their current income position. Education becomes a good investment, not because it would raise people's incomes above what they would have been if no one had increased his education, but rather because it raises their income above what it will be if others acquire an education and they do

not. In effect, education becomes a defensive expenditure necessary to protect one's market share.

Carnoy (1977) has questioned the ambiguity of the role of education in this model. On the one hand, educated labour is more "trainable" and therefore is higher up in the queue for a full-time job, on the other hand, increasing the average level of schooling has little effect on the number of these jobs available or on the productivity of workers in modern jobs. This is because employment depends largely on capital investment and technology, not on the education of workers employed.

In fact, the ambiguity of the role of education and training in this model can be extended to the actual knowledge and skills acquired through formal education. As Thurow (1972) and Thurow and Lucas (1972) indicate, skills do not exist in the labour market since most actual job skills are acquired informally through on-the-job training. However, a vast number of professions, including teaching, engineering and even professional secretarial work, require a pre-learning and training experience that has to be acquired through formal schooling which emphasizes the role of education behind what the job competition mode proposes.

Carnoy (1978) and Carnoy, Levin and King (1980) have also challenged the extreme technological determination of this model in which productivity is determined by technology not the workers which once again would question the one-



sided view of the market by this model.

#### 4.2: The Dual Labour Market Analysis

A general dissatisfaction with the lack of adequate explanation of various discrepancies within the labour market have contributed to the development of the dual labour market concept.

This approach is advocated by Doeringer and Piore (1971) and Piore (1973) who suggest that the labour market is divided into two different sectors: the internal labour market-"the primary" and the external labour market-"the secondary". Within each of these sectors, workers and employers operate according to markedly different rules. The primary labour market is composed of jobs in large firms and/or unionized jobs which tend to be characterized by high wages, better working conditions, stability and more promotion prospects. The secondary labour market, on the other hand, contains those low-paid jobs and poor working conditions with workers who are discriminated against and who have unstable working patterns (Cain 1975; 1976).

Employment of both sectors operates differently. As Doeringer and Piore argue (1971), in the primary sector, accepted workers are ranked according to their potential productivity and advance along the queue of workers until the needs of employers are met. In the secondary market workers are placed in the queue with no difference markers

among them and employers will hire from an un-differentiated labour pool.

The role of education in this theory is in many ways unnecessary since a large number of workers do possess the human capital they need but lack access to good stable jobs.

As Addison and Siebert (1979) suggest, the dual approach rests on four inter-related hypotheses. First, it is useful to dichotomize the economy into a primary and a secondary sector. Second, the wages are determined by different factors in the secondary sector from those in the primary sector. Third, economic mobility between the two sectors is sharply limited. Finally, the secondary sector is marked by pervasive underemployment because workers are confined to unskilled jobs. In this sense, as Addison and Siebert explain, the distinction is between "good" versus "bad" jobs rather than between skilled versus unskilled workers. Thus, as the dual labour market approach suggests, the main problem with the labour market is a scarcity of good jobs.

The dichotomization of the economy into two different sectors has been challenged by Wachter (1974 in Addison and Siebert) who rejected the dualist hypothesis by pointing to near-normal shaped distribution of wages and earnings among workers. Freiman for the United States and Psacharapoulos for the United Kingdom (in Addison and Siebert 1979) have also arrived at the same conclusion about the normal



distribution of earnings among workers, which shakes the basic principle of the dualistic approach.

#### 4.2.1: The Radical Theory of the Segmented Labour Market

The radical theory of the segmented labour market (SLM) is principally based on a Marxist dialectical view of history and class struggle. Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973); Vietorisz and Harrison (1973); Bowles and Gintis (1975); and Carnoy (1977; 1978) argue that political and economic forces within the capitalist system have given rise to and perpetuated segments in the labour market to reproduce the capitalist hegemony. The theory stresses the struggle among social class to gain control over economic surplus and the means of production.

The primary unit of analysis here is no longer the individual and his motivation to accumulate human investment as in human capital theory, but rather groups or classes who face objectively different labour market situations which condition their tastes and restrict their range of effective choices.

In this theory, the labour market is fragmented into groups identified by rather permanent group characteristics such as sector, race and sex. Those groups have different patterns of work life that emerge not from an individual choice or an individualized employer evaluation but largely from the structure of the labour market for a particular set

of jobs. Segments of the labour market are rewarded differently not because of their productivity but more for political and social reasons. More schooling would not necessarily mean higher incomes. In fact, a great part of the differences in wages paid to different groups is a function of the structure of production, that is, who controls the means of production.

Unemployment and under-employment are not primarily a result of economic growth or the human capital characteristics of workers although they are important variables, but are seen rather as political issues dependent on the political powers of workers' organizations relative to capitalists and in the modern sector, the managers.

Wages, on the other hand, are influenced and dominated mainly by variables exogenous to individual productivity such as sexism, racism, customs, bureaucracy and status, considerations which are all non-productive, non-human capital factors affecting the wage structure, both between segments of the labour market and within the segments.

The employment structure in this theory depends not so much on analysing factors that affect productivity as on analysing the institutional structure of wages and employers themselves and the socio-political economic forces influencing changes in the employment structure.

The segmentation theory implies that the employment structure is not tied to the distribution of productivity.



The correlation of education and work experience with employment, therefore, does not establish that more education and more experience contribute to higher productivity and the probability of employment, hence the relationship between worker characteristics and employment is not primarily economic (in terms of increased productivity) but tends to be largely socio-institutional. Further, the relationship between education, work experience and employee productivity may be less important in the secondary labour segment than in the primary market when education and experience may determine access to full-time jobs.

#### 4.2.2: Variants of the Segmented Labour Market Theory:

There are a number of variants of segmentation theory which all try to establish that there are several types of jobs in the labour market each with a distinctive criterion for hiring and advancements (Carnoy: 1977, 1978 and Edwards 1979).

Piore, Gordon, Edwards and Carnoy, each have observed different segments in the labour market. Doeringer and Piore (1971), Reich, Gordon and Edwards (1973) address two distinctive segments: The secondary segment and the primary segment of the labour market, in which the secondary labour market seems to offer its labour less than the primary market. Workers in the secondary market consist mainly of urban blacks and other working poor who earn less, and the

labour market works differently for them. Education, for example, seems to provide very little return for secondary workers, whereas it has provided a substantial return in the other segments. Similarly, jobs in the secondary market do not seem to lead to better jobs, unlike the primary market where each job is potentially a stepping stone to a better position.

Edwards (1979) on the other hand, has argued that the market is divided not only into two segments but rather into three labour market segments and that the market outcomes are different by segments and processes. Those three segments are:

(i) The secondary market: This consists of casual labour with low paying jobs. Jobs here provide little employment security or stability which causes a lack of stable work habits amongst this segment of labour. Jobs are also 'dead-end', offering little opportunities for advancement and required skills with little or no general education or on-the-job training. In fact, the chief characteristic of this segment is the small economic return from education. Buchele (in Edwards 1979: 170) found that secondary workers got no additional return for any further schooling although occupational training did help.

(ii) The subordinate primary labour segment (or primary routinized labour market): In contrast to the secondary jobs, this segment seems to offer some security and more job



stability. Jobs offer relatively high wages and extensive linkages between successive jobs that the typical worker holds.

The general attributes of labour productivity in the job market in this segment are dependability, stability, responsiveness to authority and acceptance of external sets of goals. Access to higher level jobs is determined by schooling, race and sex.

(iii) The independent primary market: This consists of well defined occupations with "promotion ladders" and established patterns of mobility between jobs. Work in this segment is highly skilled, thus requiring a high level of schooling. In fact, credentials are an absolute requirement for entry and large financial returns result from both additional schooling and experience. Individual motivation and achievement are highly rewarded and work is judged and regulated by professional standards.

Another proposed model of segments was also offered by Carnoy (1978: 49-69) in which four segments of the labour market were identified:

(i) The well-paid segment: or as Carnoy calls it "high education segment" in which a high level of education is required. Technical change constantly creates new jobs in this segment but eliminates many others which formerly required higher education. There is job competition that works as a restricting device which limits access to

these jobs mainly to white males from the middle and upper classes.

(ii) The unionized segment: where job unionization has secured for the workers a set of structures which regularize the employment relationship, restrict competition among the workers and from outside. Jobs in this segment are located mainly within a large-scale capital intensive production and are concentrated in the industrial and transportation core of the economy.

A central feature of jobs in this segment is that their content can be routinized and codified in a set of rules and standard operating procedures. Jobs are arranged in finely graduated pyramidal hierarchies. Advancement usually comes with seniority. The major productivity attribute required of workers in this segment is their capacity to carry out a set of instructions to the supervisor's satisfaction. Workers must be disciplined and responsive to authority. Education is a liability in this segment, a high level of education is likely to render the work even more stultifying and boring than otherwise and is likely to be associated with greater ambition for upward mobility.

(iii) The competitive segment: which is characterised by the lowest wages, least steady employment and poorest working conditions and advancement opportunities. This segment comprises not only jobs in competitive firms but also clerical jobs in monopoly firms staffed mainly by



women, minority groups, and other relative newcomers to wage labour.

Workers in this segment are generally with low education. Submissiveness and passivity are the traits most characteristically required of this segment.

(iv) The dwindling crafts segment: comprised of jobs requiring traditional manual skills that can only be learned through lengthy practical experience. Workers in this segment are largely organized in craft unions which, through licensing and certification procedures, attempt to restrict competition for the jobs of their members who are highly paid and exercise more autonomy.

#### 4.2.3: Critics of the Radical Theory of the Segmented Labour Market

The segmented labour market has been challenged by some who doubt its foundation as a sound theory and who doubt its basic assumption of segmentation in the labour market. Sirageldin, et al. (1984) have argued against the methodological and empirical foundations of the segmented theory on the grounds that it does not represent a solid single theory that explains the different segments that exist in the labour market; instead, it is a general dissatisfaction with the lack of adequate explanation of various outcomes of the labour market.

Cain (1975; 1976) also stresses the absence of any

single, well articulated theory in the dual and radical literature. However, he admits that the segmentation theory provides a sociological analysis of institutional change and a power relationship built upon a psychological analysis of the determination of employers' attitudes and workers' preferences and motivations.

Wachter (1974) (in Addison and Siebert 1979) and Cain (1975, 1976) have both challenged the strict dualist division assumed between the different segments of the labour market (primary and secondary) and mobility among them. While they agree on the existence of segments in the labour market, they question the assumption of the segmented labour market that workers with definable characteristics are confined to one segment of the occupational spectrum. In fact, data show that workers with definable pre-market characteristics will not be confined to one segment of the occupational structure. Carnoy himself (1978) admits that sectional/longitudinal studies of individuals in the U.S. which were meant to test the existence of the segmented labour market suggest that there is a substantial mobility between segments. Pan Eng Fong and Liu Pak Wai (1975) who studied the segmentation in Singapore found that education is a major channel for inter-segment mobility although this mobility as indicated by their data is found to be relatively small. However, the existence of segments in their study was overwhelming in that employers select



workers on the basis of specific characteristics such as education, race, sex and marital status, factors which are not directly related to the technical and skill requirements of a job. Although the structure of earnings for primary and secondary jobs was shown to be different, education proved to be a powerful determinant of earnings in both segments.

In Liberia, Duberg (1982) examined the effect of schooling and work experience on earnings. His findings suggest the existence of segments in the labour market and that the secondary sector is characterized by lower rewards from schooling. However, Duberg has also indicated the importance of education as a prime means of access to the different segments and that workers of the secondary segments had lower means of education than those workers in the primary sector.

In Morocco, Joeke (1982) examined the switch of the clothing industry from male to cheaper female labour and uses the segmented theory as a framework for studying the change in sex composition in this industry and for explaining the differences in wages. Her analysis suggests that the difference in earnings between males and females could be attributed to the difference in overall demand and supply conditions for male and female labour which indicates the emergence of different wage levels in the two labour markets.

According to the study, different factors drive the male wage up and the female down. First, there is collective bargaining in the male labour market but none in the female due to the limited demand for female labour in Moroccan industry. Second, the reserve price of individual male labour is explicitly set higher than the female rate by cultural convention. On the other hand women's subordination accustoms them to accept low wages. The socio-economic characteristics of women workers who are predominantly drawn from socio-economic categories in which the need for work is stronger than the notion of calling for higher wages, mean that their reserve price is low. The study concluded by arguing that although the difference in the supply of male and female labour and the wage difference seems to suggest its economic origin, the underlying structural and social conditions are, in fact, discriminatory against women, as is the limited demand for female labour in Moroccan industry (Joekees 1982: 84).

#### B: Summary and Application:

##### 4.3.1 Theories of the Labour Market:

In the first section of this chapter the two main approaches of the labour market were presented. The orthodox approach included the human capital theory, the screening model and the job competition model whereas the



dual approach includes the segmentation theory. All the theories discussed have featured the basic assumption that education is related to employment. The arguments are centred around the mechanisms and structures through which this relationship operates and the possible outcomes.

The neo-classical approach stipulates that labour services are determined by the market in which the number of workers needed is decided by agents' "demand", and workers' "supply", and these interact to determine the size, allocation and wage accepted by both parties who have a perfect knowledge of the market. In the human capital theory, workers invest in themselves by acquiring more education to improve their output, "productivity" and "employability".

Schooling, on the other hand, is treated in the screening model not so much as an "investment" by individuals, but rather as a "filter", "signal", or "screening device" used by employers to identify those with superior ability and personal characteristics needed in the workplace.

Those characteristics (apart from trainability) are seen by the job competition model as unimportant in determining labour "productivity". This is because productivity is an attribute of jobs not workers. Jobs with a lot of modern capital equipment are highly productive and workers queue up for them. Thus, education has little effect on the number of jobs available or the productivity

of workers since employment in the modern sector depends largely on capital investment and technology, not on the education of workers.

A different perspective and explanation of the labour market functions are proposed by the segmented labour market theory. It assumes that groups of workers or classes of people face different labour market situations which systematically condition their "tastes" and restrict their range of effective choices. The theory, therefore, claims that the labour market is fragmented into groups identified by rather permanent group characteristics. These groups have a different condition of "work life" that emerges not from their choice but from the structure of the labour market for a set of jobs. There are different segments on the labour market (mainly secondary and primary) segments, who are paid differently not because of their "marginal productivity" but more for political and social reasons.

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, the importance of these theories is that each concentrates on one or another function of the labour market. Each theory supplements but does not supplant the other theories in explaining the different functions of the labour market in both advanced and developing countries, as illustrated by the different studies discussed with each theory.

Where the neo-classical approach assumes the existence of "a market" in which demand by agents and supply by



workers interact to determine how much conditions and labour are exchanged and at what price and which treats labour as a homogeneous unit, the human capital theory incorporates differences among individuals that stem from individuals' motivations to invest in themselves by acquiring more schooling and training thus explaining the differences in earnings and employment prospects among individuals.

The screening or signalling model attempts to explain the supply of labour and why employers tend to choose educated workers over the uneducated.

The job competition model is about the demand side of the labour market which is determined in this model by technological needs for different jobs.

On the other hand, the dual labour market approach attempts to explain many discrepancies existing in the labour market such as inequality in earnings, poverty and unemployment. The radical theory of segmented labour market extends its explanation of the labour market from the function level (motivation, supply and demand) to more institutional explanation by emphasizing the role of socio-political and economic factors in influencing the exchange of labour and the shape of the employment structure.

However, by and large, with the notable exception of the segmented labour market theory, previous theories do not make any distinctions over gender issues. Female labourers are treated like any other group of workers without taking

into consideration the apparent discrimination against female labour in job accessibility, promotion and earnings. Nevertheless, although there are major differences among these theories, they can still be used in a complementary way to guide our analysis of the female labour market. Thus, this study uses the theories discussed earlier to explain the many discrepancies in the Saudi female market and develops its own approach by examining the different factors affecting the functions of that market which are unique to the Saudi Arabian situation. These theories are used to give an understanding of the major features of the market but it is not intended to be used in economic terms. The following section illustrates the main features of the Saudi female labour market although a thorough investigation of employment issues of Saudi females are presented in Chapter Six.

#### 4.3.2: The Main Features of the Female Labour Market in Saudi Arabia:

A few studies of the Saudi female labour market have identified some of the distinctive features of that market, such as the limited access of females to the market which is open to males, limited mobility, labour supply and demand and wage determination (Al Rowaf 1989, Almana 1981). Nevertheless, the most visible feature of this market is the imposed segregation on females from the labour market which



is open to males in the government sector and in the private sector. Labour law states that

"In no case may men and women commingle in places of work or in the accessory facilities or other appurtenances thereto." (Labour Affairs, Labour and Workmen's Law 1969: 51)

As a consequence female workers are confined to certain professions deemed to suit their "nature". Certain occupations are made available such as teaching, nursing, medicine and a few types of clerical and managerial work within women's institutions. Places of work are organized in a way that isolates women from a man's world, including schools, higher educational centres attached to main universities, special bank branches, all of which are operated by women and service the women's sectors.

By law, women must pledge not to work in the private sector run by men which may fail to provide the necessary conditions of complete segregation in workplaces between the sexes. Thus, females are mainly confined to certain professions within government organizations.

Most of the available jobs do require educational qualifications. Experience is not a prerequisite for hiring. Mobility between jobs is limited. Workers are hired by the Civil Service Bureau and with job rank corresponding to qualifications. Advancement and internal promotions tend to be limited. Higher level executive jobs are occupied by men who hold higher administrative office

in female organizations and work in separate buildings. Thus, a female teacher, for instance, continues to be a teacher, probably in the same school for all her working life.

The demand for labour is determined mainly by two major factors: (a) jobs provided by the government (as the main employer) in the professions which are set aside exclusively for women. Such availability, however, has been greatly reduced with the decline in government financial resources due to the fall in oil prices. Thus, few jobs are being made available to females which has led to the unemployment among educated female labour that has become an observable phenomenon over the last five years. (b) the oversupply of certain professions that females have access to which are overcrowded. In recent years Saudi Arabia has been able to "Saudize" most of its female institutions where women are able to find jobs. Gradually, however, these institutions were no longer able to absorb the oversupply of graduates which has resulted in an oversupply of educated workers and overcrowding in the few occupations available to women which has eventually reduced demand for females and depressed their wages in the market.

Although wages are supposedly determined by a pre-scale that defines each qualification with its rank and payment, recent economic difficulties in the Saudi Arabian economy have resulted in a drop in wages for both males and females.



The oversupply of educated workers has driven female wages down and led to the phenomenon of social and religious forces pressing women to leave the market and settle themselves within the traditional roles of motherhood and the family. Unemployment and poor wages also have other social and educational consequences, mainly qualification escalation which increases the demand for higher education.

On the other hand, religious and cultural forces play a vital role in determining the major functions of the market. These include access to jobs, working conditions, mobility, responsibilities on the job which should not exceed certain limits to ensure that female workers are not in contact with males. These functions will be described in Chapter Six together with a discussion of the role of the General Presidency of Girls' Education (GPGE) in the female labour market.

In summary, the main features of female labour are:

- Females are mainly employed in the modern bureaucratic sector
- Enforced segregation to the female sector from the labour market which is open to males
- Limited professions such as teaching are made available to females
- The prohibition of work in the private sector run by men
- The concept of a part-time job is non-existent
- Education is a prerequisite for most employment opportunities
- Work experience is not considered an important criterion for hiring
- Promotion from the lower or middle rank jobs to higher level jobs, or in the same sector, is low, due to male domination of the administration at the top level
- The dynamics of the market, its roles and policies, are determined not so much by the functions of this market, as by religious and cultural forces
- Unemployment of educated workers is a recent phenomenon
- Overcrowding of the few "professions" available for females raises the qualifications required for these professions
- Overcrowding has resulted in a drop in female wages and an increase in demand for higher education.



#### 4.3.3: How do the Existing Theories of the Labour Market explain these Features of the Female Labour Market in Saudi Arabia?

According to the human capital theory, individual investment in education should come as a result of the individuals' knowledge of the market needs which should then enhance their employability, improving their earnings because they are "theoretically" more productive.

The problem encountered here is that female investment in education does not necessarily come as a response to employment opportunities available in the market; rather, to the educational opportunities available to them (which will be discussed in Chapter Five). Women are confined to certain educational specialities that are defined by religious authorities as "suitable" for women. Certain specialities are encouraged (e.g. teacher training), others are simply not made available (e.g. engineering). Therefore, although educated workers tend to earn more, their investment in education tends to be limited, which restricts their occupational choices.

Demand for labour is determined by the availability of jobs. However, this availability is not determined by technology as stipulated by the job competition model since the sectors of the economy in which females work are not so much technologically determined but more a service section within the government establishment.

Educational qualifications are used by employers (the government Civil Service Bureau) to determine entry to jobs. Because of the severe scarcity of jobs and because of the limitation on job availability to women, workers are placed in a queue. The government not only singles out those with higher qualifications but also those female workers with specific specialities that are considered "suitable" for females. Others with only their educational qualifications as a single criterion are kept longer in the queue with limited employment prospects, as explained in Chapter Six.

Female wages do not necessarily reflect productivity or an economic return to the individual investment in education. Wages are pre-determined by wage-scales and by the supply and demand of labour who have no control over their wages.

The existence of segmentation in the female labour market is overwhelming. As Joeke (1982) stated in her study of Moroccan women:

"the labour market is said to be segmented when some socio-economic groups in the population face limited opportunities in employment in the shape of low wages and a relatively small range of accessible jobs"  
(Joeke 1982:58)

Similarly, in Saudi Arabia labour statistics show that only 5% of the female population are economically active (Saudi Arabia: Fourth Development Plan 1985-1990: 89).

Because of their sexual identity, female workers are confined to certain professions, with certain laws and conditions governing their occupation. Individual females



are exposed to such conditions and choices in the labour market, not so much as a result of their individual choice, but as a result of socio-political forces framing and operating the structural mechanism which affects the female market economic functions. Female workers as a whole form a segment in the market with specific characteristics that are imposed by outside political and social forces. However, within this segment, other segments do exist, mainly, primary and secondary segments.

Jobs in the primary segment are well-defined, provide stability and require a high level of schooling (e.g. teaching or management in girls' schools). However, other associated features of this segment which have been observed in other markets, such as a high level of mobility, the reward for motivation and achievement are not an observed feature of the primary segments in the Saudi female market.

The secondary segment, on the other hand, consists of those low paid jobs carried out by workers with little or no education (e.g. cleaning, housekeeping, guards in girls' schools). Jobs in this segment do not require education or training and do not provide any opportunity for advancement, although stability is a feature of this segment (since workers are government employees), unlike other secondary segments in other markets in which jobs do not provide stability or security (Edwards 1979: 166).

Mobility between segments is limited due to the limited market open for females and to the distinctive features of

each segment (e.g. a high level of education is required in the primary segment whereas little or no education would be sufficient for the secondary segments. Unemployment is a recent feature of this market. The oversupply of educated female workers competing for a few jobs has led to such a phenomenon. Employers (here the government Civil Service Bureau) uses educational qualifications as a "screening device" to sort out applicants. Workers with "impressive" qualifications are placed in a queue for available jobs. Nevertheless, other social factors may interfere in determining this order, e.g. favouritism to relatives and friends and personal recommendations.

The unemployment problem in this market is not a result of the human capital characteristic of workers (mainly education or experience), but more a result of social factors relating to women's status in society. Because of the low status of women which identifies them through their sexual identity, females are segregated from the market and are confined to certain occupations that limit their employment opportunities, their promotion and mobility and increase their unemployment which in turn reinforces their inferior economic and social status.

This can be demonstrated through Chart 4.1 which illustrates the role of political and religious factors in producing female segregation which in turn depresses women's economic and social effectiveness in present Saudi Arabian society.



CHART 4.1

THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS FACTORS ON THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE FEMALE LABOUR MARKET IN SAUDI ARABIA

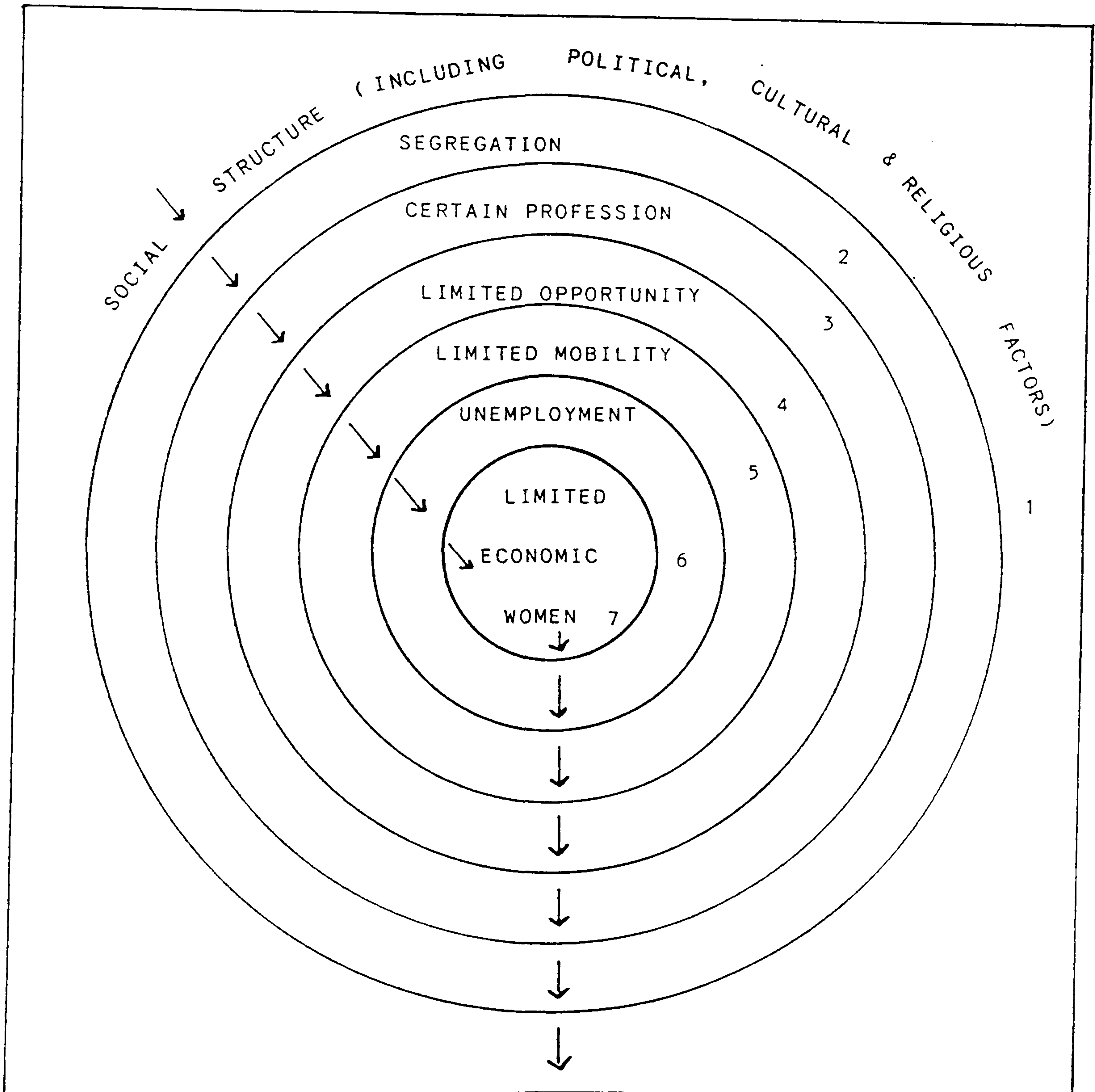


Chart 4.1 shows the inter-relationship between the seven variables representing the main functions of the Saudi Arabian female labour market. The first layer shows the sphere of the social structure that is controlled by the political and religious forces which have imposed the second layer: the segregation of female labour from the market open to males. This, in practical terms, implies the need to establish separate segregated educational and working institutions that are guarded both administratively and practically (at the doors of these institutions) by males, to ensure that the practice of segregation is complete (e.g. the practices of purdah). The third layer is represented by the sexual division of labour which is so institutionalized that only certain professions within female organizations can be made available to female labour. These include teaching, managerial and supervisory work within girls' schools and colleges, nursing and medicine. The restrictions on the number of professions available have forced female workers to stick to their jobs regardless of their interest in the job. This affects their commitment to work, their desire to contribute effort at times to their jobs and reduces their occupational aspirations. All of this will be analysed in the empirical data of this study presented in Chapter Seven. The fourth layer of the diagram is a limited opening of job opportunities within these restricted professions. This leads to the fifth



layer: limited mobility among the jobs available. This is because of the few accessible jobs available and because high executive positions in female institutions in the various regions of Saudi Arabia are all occupied by male administrators.

The limitation in job opportunities, the lack of mobility and the prohibition of employment within private firms has resulted in an overcrowding of female labour in the jobs available and an oversupply of educated females without jobs. As a consequence unemployment has resulted, which weakens the economic power of females and weakens their social effectiveness. This has enabled other political and religious forces to strengthen their power and control over the female market and they are able to impose and uphold their rules of segregation and limitation. The overcrowding of jobs available and the oversupply of educated females without a job have forced females to accept jobs with low pay and limited prospects of advancement. This affects to a great extent their working characteristics examined in this study, as will be demonstrated through the empirical data.

#### 4.3.4 Summary and Conclusion

The theories of the labour market discussed in this chapter including the human capital theory, the screening model, the job competition model and the segmentation theory

have featured the basic assumption that education is related to employment.

However, with the notable exception of Carnoy's version of the segmentation theory, the above do not differentiate gender issues. Female labourers are treated like any other group of workers, without taking into consideration the apparent discrimination against female labourers in job accessibility, promotion and earnings.

Various studies have examined the application of these theories to the labour markets in some developing countries such as Singapore, Morocco and Sudan. A joint analysis of the neo-classical and radical theories is seen by these studies as an appropriate approach in studying the functions and mechanism of markets in these developing countries.

This approach has been adopted in this thesis in which one feature or another of each theory and model presented has been applied to explain some of the discrepancies that exist in the female labour market in Saudi Arabia.

However, as explained in the introduction to this chapter, the peculiarity and distinction of this market which cannot be explained by former theories, require a special model which has been developed by this study to illustrate the vital role that cultural and religious factors play in determining the major functions of the female market in Saudi Arabia. This model stipulates that



these forces have imposed an absolute segregation of female workers from the open market. This has limited the professions allocated to females which has restricted their opportunities within these professions, limited their mobility and created unemployment among educated females. Such working and living conditions for women in Saudi Arabia have, to a large extent affected their economic and social status within the social structure of present Saudi Arabian society. This keeps women within a vicious circle of segregation and unemployment.

Indeed, to have a broad understanding of the female labour market in Saudi Arabia, it is necessary to understand the educational background of female workers and the role their education plays in the labour market - two basic issues which will be discussed in the following two chapters.

## Chapter Five

### Access of Females to Education in Saudi Arabia

#### Introduction

This chapter investigates the educational opportunities available to females compared with those provided for males. The major aims are to uncover the mass disparities in scope and types of schooling for males and females in Saudi Arabia and to investigate the role of this education in relation to the female labour market.

The study of formal education for females is of significant importance for the present thesis for two reasons: (a) 97% of females obtain education through the formal system, and (b) 86% of female workers who work with the government establishment, work in the GPGE institutions, as indicated in the labour statistics in Chapter Six.

The first section of this chapter (5.1) looks at females' access to education before 1960, indicating the role private education played in subsidising education in the absence of government provision. Section 5.2 elaborates on the establishment of government education in 1960 and on the philosophical and ideological foundations of such provision. Section 5.3 introduces the general structure of education in Saudi Arabia for both males and females. Section 5.4 illustrates female education at the elementary



level and compares male/female provision at this level. Section 5.5 reviews education for females at the intermediate level comparing it with the scope and type of schooling available for males. Scope 5.6 identifies the education for females at the secondary level compared with that available to males. Section 5.7 identifies the higher education available for females compared with that for males and the access of females to postgraduate studies and government scholarships abroad. Section 5.8 provides a summary and conclusion.

#### 5.1: Informal education for females before 1960

Prior to the establishment of formal education in 1960, Saudi Arabian females had limited access to any type of schooling. The Kuttabs, or female tutors, were one of the very few tutorial channels available to females. From these Kuttabs, some women who had been taught to read and write the Koran, would open their own houses to teach the reading of the holy book. Al-Bakr (1988) illustrates the existence of many of these houses within the Riyadh area in which religious studies dominated the curricula. However, no precise statistics exist on the number of these Kuttabs, or students or any learning procedures.

Private education played a vital role in subsidizing education in the absence of government provision especially in western region cities such as Mecca and Jeddah, as Table 1 shows.

TABLE 1  
SAUDI FEMALES PRIVATE SCHOOLS ESTABLISHED PRIOR TO  
FORMAL EDUCATION FROM 1942 to 1959

No.	SCHOOL	ESTABLISHED DATE	CITY	PRESENT STATUS
1.	The Elementary Girls School	1942	Mecca	Exists
2.	The Private School for Girls	1946	Mecca	Exists
3.	The Koranic School	1950	Riyadh	Exists
4.	Model School	1951	Riyadh	Government
5.	The Community Cultural School	1951	Jeddah	Exists
6.	Dar Al Hanan	1955	Jeddah	Exists
7.	Al Naseafeah	1955	Jeddah	Exists
8.	Al Maareaf	1955	Jeddah	Exists
9.	Al Faisaleah	1955	Mecca	Closed
10.	Children Garden	1957	Jeddah	Exists
11.	The Child House	1958	Jeddah	Exists
12.	Alzahra	1958	Mecca	Closed
13.	Model School	1958	Dammam	Exists
14.	Model School	1958	Mecca	Exists
15.	Model School	1959	Mecca	Exists

Source: Ministry of Education: Chapters of the History of Education in the Kingdom:  
Girls Education 1982

Table 1 indicates that the year 1942 saw the opening of the first private school for girls. This was called the Private Elementary Girls School in Mecca which was followed by others in 1947, 1950 and 1959. Nevertheless, the most famous school was Dar Al-Hanan which was originally founded as a boarding school by Queen Efat, King Faisal's wife, in 1955 for orphans and disadvantaged girls. However, the need for education was soon felt by other sectors of society, which has led to the development of Dar Al-Hanan into one of the biggest private schools up to the present time. In fact, most contemporary female personnel who have



supervised women's institutions are graduates of this school. Religious studies dominated the curriculum, as in the Kuttabs, although it was extended to include some maths and general reading. Although this type of education did not satisfy the needs of the female population, it indicated the eagerness and determination of people to possess education. This contradicts the view of much of the literature on the historical development of Saudi Arabian women's education which implies that people had no desire for women's education prior to the establishment of formal education in 1960 (e.g. Viola: 1985: 194; General Presidency of Girls' Education in Saudi Arabia: 1981: 17). The arguments in the literature can be challenged from three directions:

(a) Sociological. In the first half of this century, women's status in the central region of Saudi Arabia, the Najd, was very low. Bakry (1972: 53) illustrates the limited social and personal opportunities open to them. Especially before marriage women were denied any access to the outside world and were prevented from meeting strangers and kept home for domestic duties (Al Bakr: 1988:26). Nevertheless, education was the exception and some families had to accept that females would go out of the house and mix with others since education was seen within the cultural fabric of those days as a religious duty.

(b) Economic. Prior to the discovery of oil in 1936, Saudi Arabia had limited financial resources and was not able to obtain sufficient national income from oil until 1965 (Bakry 1972: 155). Families had very low incomes that hardly covered their basic needs. Some families, however, valued female education and specific sums were paid out of limited resources to the lady teachers of the Kuttabs or to the females' private schools.

(c) Historical. Some sources indicate that early forms of Kuttabs were gradually transferred to private schools to meet the huge demand for education (GPGE 1981). This reflected peoples' attitudes and needs for education. In fact, Abd Aljabar (1959) indicates that in the 1940s and 1950s, the Ministry of Education issued a number of policies that required females' private schools to be closed although such policies were never implemented because of sustained social demand.

## 5.2: Formal State Education:

In the late fifties, the government encouraged local newspapers to publicise the issue of female education. Different opinions were expressed with totally contradictory views. On the one hand, Saudi females who were educated abroad or in some of the private schools in the Kingdom called for full educational opportunities up to university level. On the other hand, traditionalist and



some religious elements in society were reluctant to support the issue. Some were opposed to the idea on the basis that women are a symbol of corruption and would be demoralised by education, which would threaten and destroy the foundation of the family. The most famous instance occurred in Buraida (a town north of Riyadh) where religious and conservative elements of that village tried to burn the girls' schools and demonstrations erupted.

The theme of "demoralization" of the family and the values of society was and still is heard as a reason for denying women access to education. More recently it has been used to deny women the opportunity to use their education in any environment outside the home (Viola 1986: 194). This is why women's education was handed to the highest religious establishment, the al-Ulama which formed an important religious committee to run and supervise girls' education under the General Presidency for Girls' Education (GPGE). In 1960 the Government issued a statement allowing for the establishment of female education. The Royal declaration allowed:

"The opening of schools for girls which teach females religion and other type of education that should never threaten their religious beliefs. The highest religious committee is responsible for such schools" (Ome Al Kura (the official Saudi newspaper) October 1959: 2).

Schools aimed to teach girls literacy, home affairs and child raising. The objective of education was stated as:

"To bring girls up in an Islamic environment in which they can fulfil their duties in life as successful house-keepers, ideal wives and suitable mothers and to

prepare them for what suits their nature such as teaching, nursing and medicine" (Educational Policy in Saudi: 1978: 28).

The declaration stresses the need to carry out such education in an atmosphere of modesty, veneration and chastity following the principle of Islam in all its forms and content (Al Hukail 1984: 150-151).

These general guide-lines indicate that the objectives of female education are seen and used to serve and maintain the existing social status of females in a traditional society. Women are portrayed and oriented to serve the traditional roles of wives and mothers normally demanded and desired of females by the existing social forces. The ideological foundation of female education as it was established and as it exists rests on a religious heritage. Schools are seen as religious institutions that instil certain values and attitudes which condition women to acquiesce in their traditional roles and to accept their exclusion from public life. Al-Ulama do not perceive schooling as an educational and intellectual process that helps female individuals to recognize their abilities and improve their skills and knowledge. Rather, the objectives are to prepare girls for their expected roles as wives and mothers. This endorses the view of women as having a "special nature" which is different from that of men and which should be directed to special types of education that suit this nature and which can lead to the expected



conventional lines of employment in teaching and child care. This can be deduced from the type and amount of time devoted to each subject within the timetable of the elementary and intermediate levels of education.

The timetable of elementary education for females reflects the assumed "differences" in "nature" between the two sexes. Girls are taught housekeeping instructions, needlework and are denied physical education. A considerable amount of time is devoted to religious studies (35.86%), followed by Arabic (14.14%).

At the intermediate level, girls are also taught house keeping instructions, and needlework and are denied physical education. Religious studies occupy the first priority in the timetable (24%), since the main objective of this level of schooling (as defined by the GPGE) is to strengthen females' religious beliefs so as to protect them from any strange ideas or ideology. This is followed by Arabic (16%) and mathematics and science (at 12% each). Indeed, the highest priority given to religious studies within the timetable of the elementary and intermediate levels comes as a result of the recommendations issued by the Highest Committee for Education Policy in 1980 which reduced English Language classes from 6 hours a week to 4 hours and reduced mathematics classes from 5 to 4 hours a week in order to allow for more religious studies within the timetable.

This policy of emphasizing certain types of knowledge and activities (religion, domestic activities) and preventing others (physical and technical education) which are considered a threat to the existing gender division in the family and in the labour market, illustrates the nature of female education.

The philosophy of the educational system with its stated objectives and practices works to provide an ideological base for the existing social structure. It aims to reinforce the division and segmentation of labour and gender inequality, and to legitimize the existing form of social institutions with their mass inequality between men and women (such as the family, education and the labour market).

This critical view of the educational objectives, however, does not imply that such objectives should be rejected or that they are not productive. In fact, no education for men or women within the local culture of Saudi Arabia would be possible without an Islamic framework. The issue is that the interpretation of Islamic teaching<sup>1</sup> in Saudi has been muddled with puritanical traditions and values which restrict women's role in society. Thus, under the banner of local religious forces, female education embarks on a limiting measure that squanders women's potential as a work force and confines them to the sphere of domesticity.



### 5.3: The Structure of the Educational System:

Charts 5.2 and 5.3 represent the educational system for males and females respectively; these will be used to clarify the discussion in the remaining sections of this chapter.

The general educational system in Saudi Arabia consists mainly of elementary education for 6 years, intermediate education for 3 years, and secondary education for 3 years. Education of those under five is run mostly on a private basis and is not considered a prerequisite for entry to formal education. At the intermediate and secondary education level there are different types of schooling for each sex which will be illustrated in sections 5.4 and 5.5 of this chapter.

The General Presidency of Girls' Education (GPGE) runs education for females, whereas education for boys is administered by the Ministry of Education.

Higher education for both sexes is administered by different government establishments such as the Ministry of Higher Education and the Headquarters of Girls' Colleges of Education.











### 5.3.1 Financing of Education:

Public expenditure on education has increased steadily since the introduction of Development Planning in 1970. The budget for education increased from 596.6 million Saudi Riyals (SR) in 1970/71 to SR 27,351,556 million in 1983/84. (Roughly SR 6 = £1.) Nevertheless education for females has suffered from a limited share of the educational budget when compared to that for males. Table 2 provides a comparison of the government budget, education budget, and the share of both the Ministry of Education (boys) and the GPGE (girls) from 1978/79 to 1986/87.

TABLE 2  
GOVERNMENT APPROPRIATION FOR EDUCATION BY ORGANIZATION  
(in million S.R.)

Budget and Allocation	1978/9	1983/4	1986/7
1. Government total budget	130,000,000	260,000,000	200,000,000
2. Public expenditure for education	15,132,146	27,351,556	19,625,300
'2' as % of '1'	11.6	10.5	9.8
3. Ministry of Education (boys)	7,315,077	11,302,130	7,366,000
'3' as % of '1'	5.62	4.34	3.68
'3' as % of '2'	48.3	41.3	37.53
4. GPGE budget (girls)	2,654,538	5,405,230	4,828,000
'4' as % of '1'	2.04	2.08	2.40
'4' as % of '2'	17.5	19.76	24.6

Sources: 1. Ministry of Education.  
Educational Statistics 1983-1984 17th Issue: 128-9

2. Ministry of Finance and National Economy.  
Statistical Year Book. No. 23. 1987: 55



Table 2 shows that government expenditure on education represented 11% of the total budget in 1978/79 and had decreased steadily by 1% in 1983/84 and 1986/87 due mainly to the drop in government revenues. It also shows that the Ministry of Education (supplying education for boys) absorbed almost half of the total national expenditure on education (48.7%) whereas the GPGE (supplying education for girls) was allocated only 17.5% of the education budget, a significant difference of 31.2%. By 1983/84 boys' education continued to absorb 41% of the education budget whereas GPGE was granted 19.7%, that is a 2.20% increase over six years in the share of the education budget targeted at female education.

By 1986/87, the GPGE budget had improved to 24.6% of the total budget allocated to education compared to the Ministry of Education which was allocated 37.53% of the total budget.

#### 5.4: Female Education at the Elementary Level:

Historically, male formal education in Saudi Arabia was first introduced in 1920. Females however, were denied access to formal education until 1960, and in addition to the existing private schools the first government elementary schools for females were established.

The GPGE started with a limited budget of SR 2,000,000 compared to that for males which was SR 122,680,000 and rapidly expanded to meet the huge demand for more education

as has been shown in section 5.3.1. The GPGE was able to increase its schools from 48 schools with ten thousand students in 1961 to over 3000 schools and 500,000 students and a budget of SR 5,405,230,000 by 1984 (Ministry of Education: Educational Statistics: 1983, 84: 199-202). Although a significant increase can be observed in the provision of elementary education for girls, the scope of this provision can be questioned in the light of the large number of girls who were and are still not included in this level. Education is not compulsory in Saudi Arabia. Thus, a large number of girls at the elementary schooling stage have no access to such education, as Table 3 illustrates.

TABLE 3  
GIRLS' LEVEL OF ENROLMENT AT THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL  
FROM 1967-1970 TO 1979-1980

	1969/70	1974/75	1979/80
Total female population at the age of 6 - 11	475	555	662
Number of girl students enrolled at elementary level	120	223	325
% of enrolment	25.3	40.2	49.1
Number of girls left out of schools	355	332	337
% of girls left out of schools	75%	60%	51%

\* All numbers in thousands.

Source: Ministry of Education Educational Development in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (1982: 47)



Table 3 shows that in 1969-70 there were 475,000 girls in the 6-11 year age range whilst the number of students enrolled for that year was 120,000, leaving 355,000 out of schools for that year, which represents 75% of girls at the primary age. In 1974-75, the percentage of enrolment improved to 40% (223,000), leaving 60% out of the system. In 1979-80, 325,000 were in schools out of 662,000 of a total age cohort leaving 51% out. There are no explicit data on the geographical locations (cities and villages) of these disadvantaged girls, data which might enable integration into the system at a later stage through adult education. Saudi Arabia has a high illiteracy rate among its female population which was estimated at 66.62% in 1986 (UN Escwa 1987: 199). Unless elementary education expands to include all the 6-11 age cohort, the illiteracy rate among the future female population is likely to increase.

The discrepancies in the provision of elementary education between males and females extend throughout elementary education in terms of the number of schools, students and teachers. In 1963-64, only 10% of elementary schools were allocated for girls. Twenty years later (1983-84) 61% of schools were for boys; only 39% were allocated for females. Gross enrolment figures indicate that, in 1963-64, only 16.44% of the students were girls. By 1974-75 their percentage had increased to 29% although up to 1986-87 the number of girls registered at the elementary level was

still under 50% of the total number of students.

Table 4 illustrates the percentage of girls enrolled at the elementary level and the number of their schools over the 1969-70 to 1986-1987 decade.

**TABLE 4**  
**PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS COMPARED TO MALES**  
**AT THE ELEMENTARY LEVEL FROM 1969-1970 TO 1986-1987**

YEAR	STUDENTS			SCHOOLS		
	MALE	FEMALE	FEMALE AS % OF TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	FEMALE AS % OF TOTAL
1969 - 1970	277364	119789	30%	1446	378	20.7%
1974 - 1975	420194	223304	34.70%	2147	881	21%
1979 - 1980	536891	325369	37.7%	3718	1655	30.80%
1984 - 1985	720245	542708	42%	4517	3200	41.5%
1985 - 1986	754491	587657	43.6%	4502	3310	42%
1986 - 1987	810774	649509	44.5%	4642	3370	42%

Sources: Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Educational Statistics 1983/1984. 17th Issue.

Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. System of Education In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. 1985/1986.

Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Finance and National Economy. Statistical Year Book. No. 23. 1987.

#### 5.5: Female Education at the Intermediate Level:

Intermediate education which the students enter if they successfully complete the sixth grade of elementary schooling consists of three years which prepare students for another three years at high school (see Chart 5.3).

This level of education was first offered to females in



1963-64. Since then, the number of students has risen steadily to reach up 130,000 students by 1983-84. However, regardless of efforts to incorporate female students into such education, their numbers and percentages are still far behind those for boys and well below the numbers estimated to exist at this stage for ages 12-14. Table 5 illustrates the enrolment figures for girls at the intermediate level compared with the total female population at the age of 12-14.

TABLE 5  
FEMALES' LEVEL OF ENROLMENT IN INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION  
FROM 1969-1979 TO 1979-1980

	1969-70	1974-75	1979-80*
Total female population at the age of 12-14	205	236	277
Number of girls enrolled at the intermediate level and % of enrolment	5 2.4%	39 16.5%	80 28.9%
Number of girls left out of school at the age of intermediate education	200	197	197
% of girls left out of school	97.6%	83.5%	71.1%

All numbers in thousands.

Source: Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Educational Development in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia 1982: 69.

\* Figures after this date are not publicly available.

Table 5 shows that in 1970, only 2.4% of those who were aged 12-14 were enrolled at the intermediate level. This left 97.6% of girls in that age range out of this level of education. By 1980, the percentage of girls enrolled had risen to about 29% which, although considered an important improvement, still omitted more than 71% of girls between the ages of 12 and 14.

Table 6 compares school provision for males and females, and numbers of males and female students at the intermediate level. This illustrates the disparity between the two sexes at this level of education especially in the early years of establishing this education.

TABLE 6  
PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS COMPARED TO MALES  
AT THE INTERMEDIATE LEVEL FROM 1969-1970 TO 1986-1987

	STUDENTS			SCHOOLS		
YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	FEMALE AS % OF TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	FEMALE AS % OF TOTAL
1969 - 1970	55890	5805	8.7%	333	22	6.2%
1974 - 1975	98739	38544	28%	532	117	18%
1979 - 1980	165107	80087	32.7%	1027	350	25%
1984 - 1985	235552	137484	36.8%	1502	819	35%
1985 - 1986	251621	150554	37%	1512	875	36.7%
1986 - 1987	266701	170456	38.9%	1557	899	36.6%

Sources: Saudi Arabia Ministry of Education. Educational Development In Saudi Arabia from 1970 - 1980 1982.

Saudi Arabia Ministry of Education Educational Statistics  
1983-1984: 17th Issue.

Saudi Arabia Ministry of Finance and National Economy: Statistical Year Book  
No. 23. 1987.



The table shows that in 1969-70 female students represented only 8.7% of the total number of students enrolled for that year. By 1980 the female enrolment level has risen to 32.7% which was considered a great improvement. However, up to 1986-87, the number of girls at this level was still under 40%. The number of female students at this level represents the differences between the number of elementary leavers and the number of students who actually enrolled at the intermediate level and who are most vulnerable to returning to illiteracy if no more education is available to them throughout their lives. On the other hand, the discrepancies between males and females can also be seen in the type of intermediate schooling available for each sex. As shown in Chart 5.2 male students are offered different types of schooling including vocational, technical and agricultural schools which are supervised by the Ministry of Education. In addition, males have access to the different forms of training offered by other government departments.

But, by contrast, as Chart 5.3 shows, female students, are channelled from elementary to the general intermediate schools in which general education is offered. No vocational, technical or agricultural training is available to them apart from nursing schools and tailoring centres.

#### 5.6: Female Education at the Secondary Level:

As Charts 5.2 and 5.3 show, general secondary education consists of three years after the intermediate level. In the first year, students study general subjects then branch off for the remaining two years to specialize either in Arts or Science. This grade qualifies successful students for places at the university and other educational institutions available (see section 5.7). Nevertheless, a large number of female students are forced to cut down their educational and profession ambitions after completing this level because of the severe limitation on the availability of further education and on the employment prospects of secondary certificate holders.

In 1963-64 the GPGE started its first secondary school for girls in Riyadh. For eight years this remained the only secondary school for females in the whole Kingdom. By 1970, the need for more secondary schools in the different cities was overwhelming and 10 more schools were established. By 1986-87, the number of schools had reached 337 with over 82,759 students.

Despite the considerable expansion of female secondary education in the last eighteen years, female/male ratios are still unbalanced. This can be seen through three measures: (a) the ratio of female to males at this level of schooling in general, (b) the different secondary institutions with different specialities that are offered to males but are



denied to women and (c) the ratio of females to males in the two branches of secondary education (Arts and Science). Table 7 provides a comparative analysis of the numbers of students, and schools within secondary education from 1969-70 to 1986-87.

TABLE 7  
PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE STUDENTS AND SCHOOLS COMPARED TO MALES  
AT THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS FROM 1969-1970 TO 1986-1987

YEAR	STUDENTS			SCHOOLS		
	MALE	FEMALE	FEMALE AS % OF TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	FEMALE AS % OF TOTAL
1969 - 1970	14058	1487	9.6%	110	6	5.5%
1974 - 1975	31333	10206	24.5%	156	26	14.3%
1979 - 1980	64627	28957	30.94%	343	113	24.8%
1984 - 1985	96931	67255	40.96%	583	308	34.6%
1985 - 1986	105612	74564	41.4%	594	336	36%
1986 - 1987	113895	84554	42.6%	624	366	36.96%

Sources: Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Education. Educational Statistics 1983/1984. 17th Issue.

Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Finance and National Economy. Statistical Year Book. No. 23. 1987.

Although the table shows the numbers of female students rising from 1487 in 1969-70 to over 84,554 in 1986-87, female students still represent only around 40% of the total number of students at this level. Further, they only occupy 36% of the schools provided for students in secondary education, in number of students enrolled, in the

number of schools allocated, and the numbers of teachers available. It is this structured disparity which deprives women of their basic right to higher education and constrains access to employment.

Other forms of discrepancy between males and females at this level are directly linked to the labour market. As shown in Chart 5.2 male students are offered different types of schooling in day or 'night' institutions. These include general secondary schooling, the comprehensive and technical institutions, vocational, commercial and agricultural institutions (Educational Statistics in Saudi 1983, 84: 20-21). Males have also gained access to health institutions, to nursing, technical assistance, postal and telecommunications training, teacher training, Quranic schools, physical education institutions and teachers' upgrading centres, all of which are presented in Chart 5.2. Such institutions qualify males for further education with these technical and vocational specialities. Males can also thus pursue their careers in the labour market with specific skills and knowledge to improve their employment prospects.

Females, on the other hand, lack any access to such diversified schooling. They are mainly taught at the general secondary schools which do not qualify their graduates for employment. Nowadays, female high school graduates are no longer able to anticipate employment, whereas, a few years ago, their certificates would qualify



them for clerical jobs within female educational institutions. However, with the overcrowding of certain jobs available to females in the labour market and the availability of the significant members of university graduates seeking jobs, educational qualifications for these clerical jobs have risen to university level certificates, this in turn has depressed the high school graduates' employability in the labour market. Thus, the female graduates of the general secondary schools who do not succeed in getting to the university are left out at home with no prospect of more education or work.

#### 5.6.1 Differences in Subject Choices Between Males and Females at the Secondary School Level:

As indicated in section 5.6, in the first year of this level students study general subjects then for the remaining two years choose to specialize either in Arts or Science. Their choice of either branch will eventually affect their specialities at the universities and the type of employment available to them in the labour market after graduation.

Arts graduates are accepted in social science subjects. Science students, however, have a wider range of specialities open for them either in social or science fields, although female students do not have these advantages since women in higher education are denied certain specialities, especially in the science fields (see section 5.7). Nevertheless, at this stage girls have to

decide on either Arts or Science and they are more likely to pursue Arts Studies than Science. In 1970, there were 263 girls studying Arts compared to 106 studying Science for that year (Educational Progress 1982: 95). In 1984-85 the number of female students studying Arts rose to 10,447 whereas the number of students studying science is still around 5039. (Educational Statistics 1983: 222)

Females represented only 5.5% of the total number of students in science studies in 1970. By 1978/1979 female percentages had risen to 33.4%. In fact, the gender differences in subject choices are easily identified by analysing the general secondary certificate examination results for 1982/1983. Table 8 shows the number of students who applied to attend the examination, the number of students who actually took it and the number of students who passed together with their percentages.

TABLE 8  
A COMPARISON OF THE RESULTS OF MALE/FEMALE STUDENTS AT THE  
GENERAL SECONDARY EDUCATION CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION FOR 1982-1983

STATUS	SEX	ART	%	SCIENCE	%	TOTAL	%
APPLIED	TOTAL	17280	55.65	13770	44.3	31050	
	M	8163	47.24	9890	71.82	18053	58.14
	F	9117	52.8	3880	28.18	12997	41.86
APPEARED	TOTAL	16939	55.4	13637	44.6	30576	
	M	7946	46.19	9794	71.81	17740	58.02
	F	8993	53	3843	28.18	12836	41.98
PASSED	TOTAL	13355	56.8	10149	43.2	23505	
	M	5780		6670		12450	
	F	7575		3474		11054	
% PASSED	TOTAL	78.8		74.4		76.9	
	M	72.7		68.7		70.2	
	F	84.2		90.5		86.7	

SOURCE: EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS 1983, 17TH ISSUE, p.280



Table 8 illustrates the following: (a) The percentage of female students in both branches (Arts and Science) is lower than male students (41.86% females compared to 58.14% males). (b) More students of both sexes studied Arts than Sciences. 55.4% of those who took the exam were Arts students and 56.8% of those who passed were Arts. (c) More female students studied Arts than Science. 53% of those attending Arts examinations were female compared to 28.18% in Science. (d) The percentage of female students passing both examinations is higher than that of boys and much higher in Science. 86.7% of females passed the exams compared to 70.7% of males and 90.5% of females who studied sciences passed compared to 68.7% of males. The greater achievements of females at this level need some discussion. Although exams are the same for both males and females, Table 9 shows that a greater number of female students have continuously passed both examinations than boys, and especially in science. For instance, in 1983-84 only 66.5% of boys passed the science examinations compared with 91.7% of girls. In 1984-85, the percentage of boys passing was 53.2% compared with 91.1% of girls who passed the science examination for that year. This suggests that, although females and especially those graduating from science studies are faced with a vast range of limitations on the educational opportunities available to them in higher education, as will be shown in section 5.7.2, they still do

better than boys at all examinations. Table 9 illustrates the percentage of girls passing both examinations compared to boys from 1981-82 to 1985-86.

TABLE 9

THE PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES PASSING SECONDARY EXAMINATIONS COMPARED TO MALES FROM 1981-82 TO 1985-86

		1981 - 1982			1982 - 1983			1983 - 1984			1984 - 1985			1985 - 1986		
BRANCH	SEX	CANDIDATE	PASSED	%	CANDIDATE	PASSED	%	CANDIDATE	PASSED	%	CANDIDATE	PASSED	%	CANDIDATE	PASSED	%
ART	BOYS	7634	5749	75.2	7946	5780	72.7	9193	6234	67.9	9503	6898	72.6	9669	6833	70.7
	GIRLS	-	-	-	8993	7575	84.2	11938	10357	83.8	12235	10947	89.5	13903	12703	91.4
SCIENCE	BOYS	9838	6933	73.8	9794	6670	68.1	12585	8357	66.5	14020	7451	53.2	17136	11390	66.5
	GIRLS	-	-	-	3843	3479	90.5	4879	4475	91.7	5524	5039	91.1	6886	6298	91.0

SOURCE: STATISTICAL YEAR BOOK 1987: 99-100

Nevertheless, there remains the question: what drives more female students to arts studies than to science at the secondary level? This trend can be attributed to a combination of two factors: (a) The girls' own perception of themselves. Girls are mainly prepared for certain roles that reduce the value of a scientific orientation in a society in which they may not require further education. One of the main objectives of secondary education is to prepare



females' consciousness to build an Islamic family (Educational Policy 1978: 22 Article 103). Curricula within this stage is still differentiated between the two sexes. Physical education, which is offered to boys, is replaced by home economics for girls. Religious studies occupy a large share of the timetable (12.9%) which emphasizes the expected role of women in a traditional society. Thus, females by their educational orientation and their families' expectations are brought up to see themselves within the marriage and family circle as their ultimate objective. (b) The limited educational opportunities which girls are faced with in higher education. As will be illustrated in section 5.7, females are accepted only in certain fields of higher studies. These include: education, social and pure sciences and medical studies. The agricultural colleges accept females for nutrition and home economics although jobs for females in those two specialities are limited. All other fields of study are provided for males only. Indeed, and as a consequence of females studying arts at the secondary level, more females tend to continue studying arts than science at the higher education level. Statistics indicate that in 1980, 90% of female students at university level were studying Arts and Social Science and only 10% studied Science which eventually creates the problem of more Arts graduates than needed in the labour market.

## 5.7: Female Education at the Higher Level:

### 5.7.1: The Evolution of Female Higher Education:

The provision of higher education for females in Saudi Arabia is of special importance to the present study of women's education and the labour market. Higher education graduates are more likely to be employed than secondary graduates. As indicated in section 5.6, the overcrowding of the occupations available to females has lifted the educational qualifications demanded for most jobs to college degree levels as will be shown in the next chapter. As Chart 5.4 shows, five of the seven universities existing in Saudi Arabia admit females, but only as external students or in a separate segregated centre. The others are for males only (the Islamic University in Madina and the University of Petroleum and Minerals in Dahrhan).

Ten colleges of higher education for educational and social studies are allocated for girls only and are administered by the GPGE. The opening of university education for females started five years after that for males. In 1961-62 King Saud University admitted four females as external students, at the Art and Administration College. In 1967, a private university was established in Jeddah (King Abdulaziz University) for both sexes studying on separate campuses. Thirty girls were admitted to the Art and Administration College on a regular basis.



In the same year, the educational college in Makkah which at that time was administered by the Ministry of Education accepted 29 female students and subsequently Imam Mohammed Bin Saud University admitted 2 students in Islamic Studies. In both universities, females were admitted as external students (Al Saleah 1973: 258).

However, the last institution to provide females with higher education was the GPGE which opened its first Girls' Education College in Riyadh in 1970-71 with 82 students. Five years later, another educational college was established in Jeddah with 219 students followed by a few other colleges in different parts of the Kingdom in later years. Chart 5.4 illustrates the number of universities in Saudi Arabia and the number and type of colleges within these universities that admit female students.

# ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA 1987

- \* Do not admit females

Ministry of Finance and National Economy. Statistical Year Book 1987





#### 5.7.2: Access of Females to Higher Education:

Although the provision of higher education for females dates back to 1961-62, enrolment figures for females compared with those for males throughout the years reveal stark discrepancies. In 1970, there were only 313 female students at the university level representing 5.5% of all Saudi university students. Five years later, this percentage had improved to 15% with 2922 females compared with 16,171 males. By 1983/1984 and with the establishment of more educational colleges throughout the urban areas by the GPGE, females represented 35% of all university students for that year. Yet, the disparity in the number of male and female students is easily observed and can be attributed to the limited educational opportunities available for females in higher education. Table 10 indicates the number of students in higher education and the percentage of females to males in each university over ten years (1974/75 to 1986/87).



**TABLE 10**  
**PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE STUDENTS COMPARED TO MALES IN HIGHER EDUCATION**  
**FROM 1969-1970 TO 1986-1987**

YEAR	SEX	1969/1970	% OF FEMALES	1974/1975	% OF FEMALES	1979/1980	% OF FEMALES	1984/1985	% OF FEMALES	1985/1986	% OF FEMALES	1986/1987	% OF FEMALES
UNIVERSITY													
GRAND TOTAL	MF	6696		19093		47733		93452		100484		115383	
	M	6262		16171		35068		58427		61794		69128	
	F	434	6.5	2922	15	12665	26	35025	37.5	38690	38.5	46255	40
King Saud Univ (Riyadh)	M	2680		3892		10199		19398		20440		23230	
	F	219	7.5	818	12	2668	20	5623	22.5	6560	24.3	8665	27
Imam Bin Saud Islamic Univ (Riyadh)	M	2004		3316		5190		10143		10874		10815	
	F	5	0.2	54	1.6	729	12	1373	11.9	1411	11.5	1546	12.50
King Abdulaziz (Jeddah)	M	783		4586		13704		13247		13837		17766	
	F	210	21	1175	20	5583	28	5917	29	6605	32	9124	33.9
King Faisal (Dammam)	M	-		-		910		1938		2022		2184	
	F	-	-	-	-	248	27	1399	14.9	1655	45	1801	45
Univ of Petrol and Minerals (Dahran)	M	450		1475		2794		3799		3768		4418	
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Islamic Univ (Medina)	M	345		902		2271		3083		2608		2282	
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Umm Al-Qura Univ (Makkah)	M	-		-		-		6819		8245		8433	
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	5268	43.6	6864	45	5901	41
Undersecretariat for Girls' Colleges	F	-		875		3437		15445		15595		19218	

Sources Ministry of Education on Educational Statistics: 17th Issue 1983-84  
Ministry of Finance and National Economy: The Statistical Year Book No. 23. 1987

Table 10 shows that although the number of female students to males in higher education has risen steadily from 434 in 1969-70 to 46,355 in 1986-87, the percentage of female students is still under 40%. The table also suggests that there is no common admissions policy for females in the different universities because of the differences in the number of female students admitted to each university. In 1983-84 female students represented almost half of the students at Umm Al-qura University, whereas their number was as low as 14% at Imam Bin Saud University although both universities are religious and offer mainly religious studies.

#### 5.7.3: Females' Fields of Study in Higher Education

The social definition of the conventional roles women hold within the family and in the labour market have affected the expansion, the type and the quality of higher education offered to females in Saudi Arabia. The conservative religious view of women's roles and duties are reflected in the fields of studies which a women can pursue at this level. The GPGE established its three higher institutions within its definition of the role of females in society and in the labour market (see Section 5.2): (a) Teacher colleges, where students study science or humanities that prepare them to teach at the intermediate and secondary schools; (b) social services institutions which prepare females to work in schools but not in any



other community services where women may be exposed to men; (c) Art colleges which teach mainly humanities and from which students end up teaching at schools. Thus, the output of all higher education institutions offered to females by the GPGE is defined according to the jobs which are thought to suit "women's nature", that is teaching. On the other hand, five of the seven (predominantly male) universities offer different areas of studies although the types of subjects and specialities available to women in these universities are also affected by the traditional expectations of female roles.

The fields of study offered to women in these institutions are designed to correspond to the conventional line of employment available to females in the labour market and specifically in women's educational institutions. As Chart 5.4 illustrates, females are admitted to colleges that offer Art, Literature, Education, Social and Religious Studies, Administration, Pure Science and Medicine. Other majors are exclusively male majors such as Computing, Engineering, Architecture, Agriculture (except Nutrition and Home Economics), Veterinary Medicine, Interior Design, Media, Law, Geology, Petroleum and Mineral studies.

King Saud University in Riyadh, along with King Abdulaziz in Jeddah, offers most of these subjects. At King Saud University, females within a special centre have access to certain specialities. In Arts and Humanities, female

students study Arabic and English Literature, Geography, History and Sociology. In the Administrative Science College, they mainly study two majors, Economics and Administration. Other subjects such as Accounting, Computing, Law, Business Administration are male specialities. In education females study early childhood and special education. In the Science College, different subjects are offered such as Chemistry and Biology (Guide to King Saud University 1981-1982).

At King Abdulaziz, more majors are offered such as Accounting, Business Administration, Physics, Chemistry and Biology. Islamic studies are available through Imam Mohamad Ibn Saud and Umm Al-Qura Universities.

Because these universities were mainly established for males and direct their services to the male sector, the quality of services offered to females is poor and of a limited nature. For example, at Imam Mohammed Bin Saud University females are admitted only as external students. Thus, they cannot attend lectures or use the library or any other facilities available to male students. Other universities such as King Saud in Riyadh, King Abdulaziz in Jeddah and King Faisal in Dammam, have established a separate centre to cater for female students which is run by female faculties. To compensate for the limited number of female university lecturers, a closed television circuit was built within these centres. This is to enable male



professors to lecture to female students via a television link transmitted to female classes containing telephone lines so that students can ask questions of the professor directly. Small libraries are provided in these centres. University libraries can only be used by females for a few hours during the weekend (e.g. eight hours on one day in King Saud University). This greatly limits the quality and scope of service offered to females in these centres.

Thus, although women do have access to higher education, their field of studies and the quality of services offered to them are greatly affected by their status as women in a male-dominated society.

#### 5.7.4: Females' Distribution in the Different Fields of Study:

As a direct result of the limited specialities offered to females in higher education and as a consequence of the limited number of females studying in the science branches in secondary schools (which has been illustrated in section 5.6), most females in higher education study arts rather than science. In 1979-80 90% of female students studied humanities such as Literature, Education and Social Studies. Forty-eight per cent had registered in Arts and Social Science (History, Geography, Arabic and Religious Studies and Sociology), 10% in administrative science colleges, 30% in education and only 12% studied pure science including medical colleges (Ministry of Education: Educational Statistics 1983: 123).

TABLE 11

GRADUATES OF THE SAUDI UNIVERSITIES AND GIRLS' COLLEGES: BY FIELD OF STUDY IN TEN YEARS (1973/1983)

FIELD OF STUDY  YEAR	SEX	OTHER	ECONOMICS & ADMINISTRATION	PETROLEUM	AGRICULTURE	MEDICINE	ENGINEERING	NATURAL SCIENCE	SOCIAL SCIENCE	EDUCATION	HUMANITIES & RELIGIOUS SCIENCES	TOTAL
1973/1974	MF	-	-	135	36	29	59	142	169	470	956	1966
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	90	47	157
1974/1975	MF	-	-	123	39	61	59	98	177	469	883	1909
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19	124	67	210
1975/1976	MF	-	-	-	86	76	275	186	240	478	882	2223
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	123	50	179
1976/1977	MF	-	-	-	92	67	374	134	605	802	1136	3210
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	91	233	242	566
1977/1978	MF	-	-	-	115	79	369	259	728	1009	1338	3897
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	77	475	252	804
1978/1979	MF	-	-	-	92	87	420	172	1044	893	1337	4045
	F	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	197	456	240	911
1979/1980	MF	-	-	-	145	152	487	177	939	849	1893	4642
	F	-	-	-	-	36	-	24	152	498	464	1174
1980/1981	MF	44	-	-	204	175	571	408	1109	958	2270	6239
	F	-	-	-	-	64	-	169	203	458	636	1530
1981/1982	MF	-	1200	-	198	189	686	447	220	1196	3225	7361
	F	-	209	-	18	52	-	221	61	567	776	1904
1982/1983	MF	-	984	-	199	286	668	587	373	1247	1790	7720
	F	-	214	-	29	106	-	305	128	576	978	2521

SOURCE: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS 17TH ISSUE 1983-1984: 446



Table 11 indicates the graduates from higher education institutions by field of study in the ten years 1973-1974 to 1982-1983. The table indicates the following: (a) In all cases and as a total of graduates, the number of male graduates has always exceeded female students. (b) Within each field of study, the number of male students is higher than the number of females. (c) There are certain majors such as Engineering and Petroleum which are considered as "male specialities" that females have no access to and, in male opinion, no competence for. Medical colleges have been made available to females since 1979-80. Also most females are graduates of Social Science, Education, Humanities and Religious Studies. As a consequence, female graduates are only employed in occupations that correspond to the type of schooling available to them in the educational institutions. This, indeed, reflects the vital role which education, under its present objectives and philosophy, plays in determining the accessibility to, and distribution of females among jobs available to them in the labour market.

#### 5.7.5: Access of Females to Post-Graduate Studies:

Although some of the five universities and girls' colleges offer post-graduate studies in different subjects, female students have access only to a few of the subjects that are available to them at the undergraduate level. Nevertheless, their number is lower than male students in

all subjects. For example, in 1983-1984, there were about 892 females out of 3822 as a total number of students, representing 23% of all post-graduate students throughout the Kingdom. Ninety-four of them studied sharia (Islamic studies), 119 Arts, 82 Arabic Literature and Social Science, 542 Education, 41 Science and 13 Medicine and 1 Economics. This indicates that most female students specialised in Humanities rather than Science. 93.9% of females were directed to a subject of a humanitarian nature (Education, Art, Social Science) and only 6% studied Science and Medicine. This again reflects the limitation females face in acquiring further education and this affects the nature and accessibility of jobs available to them in the labour market.

The restrictions placed on women in public life such as a ban on driving, unavailability of public transportation, and segregation from public places (e.g. government offices, libraries) have contributed to the major difficulties female researchers face in post-graduate studies. This includes acquiring information, statistics, reaching libraries and conducting field work.

Most post-graduate programmes offer master's degrees only. The graduates are likely to work in higher educational centres and colleges. However, with the increased number of female graduates and the decrease in jobs available that require post-graduate certificates, the



government employment bureaux tend to omit such qualifications in hiring. This implies that in recent years, and because of the limited job opportunities and the unemployment problem among educated females, post-graduate certificates, and especially masters, have gradually lost their economic value in the labour market.

#### 5.7.6: Access of Females to Education Abroad:

Because of the limited educational opportunities, students of both sexes used to seek education abroad either with the help of the State or on their own. This trend has shown its peak in the early 1980s especially for post-graduate studies.

Nevertheless, the number of male students studying in foreign universities has always exceeded the number of females in all levels of education and all types of specialities. In 1973-74, there were 315 females who were granted government scholarships compared to 2660 males. In 1982-83 there were 3539 females compared to 11,097 males (i.e. 24% females). Although this percentage is small compared with males, it still does not indicate the actual number of female students studying a specific subject or seeking a degree. Most of these females were companions to their husbands who were studying, thus, granting the scholarship was a form of financial assistance to their families and therefore, they acquired a non-degree type of

education. In 1973-74 of the 315 females who were abroad, were registered for a doctoral degree, 18 for a master's degree, and 275 as undergraduates. In 1983-84, the number of doctorate students increased to 60, master's degrees to 103, diplomas to 22 and 380 were college students. The remaining 2056 were non-degree students which meant that 84% of female students abroad in 1983-84 were pursuing a non-degree form of education. By 1985-86, the number of females doctorate students decreased to 48 compared with 1109 male doctorate students. Females studying master's degrees increased only to 107 whereas the number of female medical students specializing in foreign hospitals had fallen dramatically to just 16.

The small number of females studying abroad in general and the limited number of those who are abroad and seek a degree can be attributed to two factor: (a) Females who accompany their husbands are granted scholarships as long as their husband's study requires. As soon as the husband's study finishes, the scholarship is terminated regardless of the women's educational progress. This prevents most women from starting a study that may not be completed by the time their husbands terminate. (b) The institutional constraints on women acquiring education abroad. Prior to 1970, women were able to apply and were granted a scholarships in certain fields that were thought to be needed at home. By 1970, and with the growing power of the fundamentalists, a



law was issued which requires female students to be accompanied by male guardians when wishing to study abroad. This is in accordance with the Prophet Mohammed's saying :

"No woman would travel without a male guardian" (Abu Jaeb 1982: 87)

The policy has adversely affected the number of females granted scholarships, since not all females are able to meet the government requirements in providing a 'male guardian'. Further, with the growing strength of the Islamic movement which swept throughout the Arab world in the early seventies and eighties, regulations on Saudi Arabian women travelling abroad acquiring education got tougher. In 1978, 1980, 1983 and 1984, tough laws clearly stated that females must not be granted any government assistance in studying abroad. These extended powers to prevent females from studying abroad even at their own expense (Ministry of Higher Education 1986:51). The law, however, excluded female doctors who need to specialise in foreign hospitals. Nevertheless it restricts them to two conditions: (1) only if they study gynaecology or paediatrics and (2) to be accompanied by their husbands who should also be studying abroad. These two conditions in themselves reflect the assumption and expectation of what is thought appropriate for females to study and the type of work they may undertake in the medical sector.

In any case, such a policy has a far-reaching effect on women's education and the quality of Saudi Arabian female

faculties in higher education institutions. Females have to keep their aspiration to what can be made available to them at home and are prevented from advancing their knowledge and occupational career through what can be available abroad.

On the other hand, although the law which prevents women from studying abroad excludes female doctors, their number has been in constant decline since 1974-75. In that year there were 285 female doctors abroad specializing in different areas. By 1982-83 their numbers had declined to 110 which can be explained by the two conditions placed on them which most female doctors are not able to meet.

Other specialities have also experienced such a decline, including humanities, social science and education studies. On the other hand, and as has been noted throughout other levels of education that have been discussed earlier, females abroad tend to specialize in humanities, arts and social science rather than pure science.

In 1974-75, there were 95 females studying humanities, 44 in social science and only 35 in natural science. By 1982-83, there were 2203 in humanities, 265 in education, 156 in social studies and only 72 in natural science.

#### 5.8: Summary and Conclusions:

The investigation into education for females in Saudi Arabia reveals that its religious foundation is conditioned



through the role of al-Ulama, which has been in charge of it since its establishment in 1960.

The objectives and practices of education for females have been directed to serve, maintain and reproduce the social status of females within a traditional society. Schooling is seen not as a process which provides female students with their educational and intellectual needs but as a process which corresponds to the role expectation and limitations placed on females within their traditional social structures. Women are portrayed and orientated to serve the traditional roles of wives and mothers demanded by norms and desired of females by the existing social forces.

Thus, the provision of female education has been limited compared with that of males. This limitation extends to the scope and type of schooling offered to both sexes. Female educational opportunities are limited compared to those of males. There is a clear disparity between the two in the number of students, the educational facilities and the different type of specialities available to each at all educational levels, including elementary, intermediate, secondary and higher education. Policies, especially in higher education, post-graduate and studying abroad, discriminate against women.

The limitation and disparity within female education affect the employment opportunities available to them in the labour market. Females are channelled mainly through a

general education that does not equip them with the skills and knowledge demanded in the labour market. Females are schooled in subjects that are no longer needed in the labour market (Arts) and are denied other specialities that are in great demand (Science).

The situation is such that a fundamental educational reform should be introduced for female education in Saudi Arabia. The justification for the religious nature of female education which led to this education being handed to the highest religious committee, al-Ulama, is no longer strongly held because most elements in society now approve of female education. There is a need for reform, within the GPGE establishment, of the goals and objectives of female education, of the policies implemented, of the curricula, learning instructions and school organization. In order for female education to meet the development needs of the Saudi Arabian economy, a major shift of educational priorities has to be implemented. The female labour market is overcrowded with educated females in specialities that are no longer needed, as will be illustrated in the next chapter which investigates the Saudi Arabian female labour market.



## Note to Chapter Five

1. Incompatible interpretations of Islamic teaching have led to varying roles and practices regarding women's rights and obligations throughout the Muslim world. In Egypt, for example, and most other Arab countries, the use of purdah is limited, women do participate actively in the labour market and have some access to the public sphere unlike women in Saudi Arabia.

## Chapter Six

### Saudi Women and the Labour Market

#### Introduction:

Despite a considerable amount of literature on the issue of manpower and economic development in Saudi Arabia (Hamad 1972; Gadi 1979; Al-Obaid 1979; Al Abdalwahed 1981; Akad 1983; Al-Jiffry 1983; Al-Moammar 1983; Al-Farsy 1982; Sirageldin, et al. 1984), little systematic work has been devoted to issues of female labour in Saudi Arabia.

Generally speaking, the literature focuses on manpower <sup>1</sup> problems and the replacement of foreigners with indigenous labour. A limited number of studies, however, have concentrated on women as a potential human resource and on the difficulties females face in seeking employment (Almana 1981; Asad 1982; Nabti 1980; Al Nemer 1988; Alabd Alhay 1983; Al-Hamad 1986; Abu Kallied 1986; AlKhateeb 1987; Kalifa 1987; Al- Rowaf 1989). The basic assumption of most studies is that females would be able to replace foreign labour if more employment opportunities were made possible. The argument which this chapter addresses is that the opening of new employment opportunities would not be sufficient to absorb females of working age or the increasing number of graduates flowing out of the educational system, and unless a fundamental change is



introduced to the basic ideology controlling females' participation in the labour market, the use of females will be hindered and uneconomic.

This ideology is perpetuated through a common assumption about females' roles in Saudi Arabian society that is reflected in their education which has been explored in the previous chapter. Political and cultural forces have utilized such assumptions to control female participation in the labour market. Therefore, there is a need to analyse the role of these forces and the relationship between women as a sex, their education and their work, together with females' occupational distribution, the rate of participation, and unemployment among females. All of these are key issues that have been given little attention in the literature relating to Saudi Arabian females and are under-theorized.

This chapter seeks to elaborate on the following issues. Section 6.1 considers Saudi females in the labour market; 6.2 looks at female employment in government establishments; 6.3 analyses the role of educational qualifications in female employment; 6.4 illustrates the rate of participation of females in the Saudi Arabian workforce; 6.5 the occupational distribution of Saudi female labour; 6.6 elaborates on the unemployment problem among educated females; 6.7 discusses the cultural and religious factors affecting females' participation in the

labour market; 6.8 looks at the role of the GPGE in the Saudi Arabian female market; 6.9 questions the Islamic interpretation of women's work; and 6.10 identifies the major difficulties facing Saudi Arabian females in acquiring employment.

#### 6.1: Saudi Females in the Labour Market:

Females in Saudi Arabia have been traditionally known to work in agriculture and animal husbandry activities. Prior to the oil boom in Saudi Arabia in 1973, agriculture was considered one of the main economic activities of the indigenous population, including women. It represented 33.2% of the total labour force in which women in unpaid jobs represent 46.7% of the non-waged labour and only 4.4% of the paid labour (Almana 1981: 126). Females in herding communities were also responsible for dairy products and the distribution of oversupply in addition to their primary role as tanners (Al-Kalifa 1987: 39). By 1979-80, the agriculture labour force in Saudi Arabia had declined dramatically to 18% and to 13% by 1984-85 (Third Development Plan 1980-85: 35). As a consequence, female employment has shifted to different types of jobs within the modern sector.

Kay (in Niblock) noted that:

"women were encouraged by the government to work in girls' schools and colleges as teachers and administrators and in hospitals as doctors and nurses."  
(1982: 173)



This reflects the main occupations which Saudi Arabian females have been permitted to pursue. As has been illustrated in sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 of Chapter Four, female employment in Saudi Arabia has been shaped by the philosophy and practices of a segregated society that observes a total separation between the two sexes in its educational, employment and social institutions. Therefore, female employment has been made possible only in places where this segregation is practiced, such as girls' schools, social affairs, women's branches in banks, and other institutions that serve the women's sector.

The Labour Law in Saudi Arabia<sup>2</sup> (1969:51 Article 160) states:

"Adolescents, juveniles and women may not be employed in hazardous operations or harmful industries. In no case may men and women commingle in places of work or in the accessory facilities or other appurtenances thereto."

The law implies that women as sexual objects can disrupt the workplaces. Thus, to maintain society's modesty and morality, women have to work in separate places to which men have no access. In practice, educational, social and financial institutions have been set up for females who may learn and then teach or work as administrators or clerical staff for the same schools. This law has far-reaching effects on women's participation in the labour market:

(a) although the law does not prevent women from working, it does state, however, that their work should only be made

possible in places to which men have no access. This excludes women from all aspects of employment in the open market including most government departments (as the government represents the main employer).

(b) women by law may only be employed in a few occupations which are thought to suit their nature, as the educational policy on female education sets out teaching, nursing and medicine as suitable for women. Therefore, only a few occupations are permitted, those which are not in conflict with the domestic roles and traditional expectations of women.

#### 6.2: Female Employment in Government Establishments:

Female employment in government agencies is mainly possible for educated female workers. Harfoush's study (1986: 133) found that in most cases job opportunities available to females in the labour market require education compared to males where it was not essential. The government through its Civil Service Bureau is the main employer. Female graduates including those from the GPGE's institutions (the teachers' educational colleges, art colleges, higher institutions for social studies and teachers' colleges for further education) and graduates of other higher institutions such as female centres attached to male universities, are transferred to the Civil Service Bureau, which classifies them according to their



qualifications, educational specialities and job availability.

The sorting mechanism for graduates involves a pre-defined system of 13 categories. Each of these categories requires a certain educational qualification and has a number of ranks within it (from 5 to 10). Wages are pre-determined for each category and increase annually with each rank, e.g. Art college graduates would receive category 6, rank 5, Science graduates receive category 7 ranks. The following year, they would be upgraded to the sixth rank within their category. After category 10, educational qualifications have no effect on upgrading, since it is determined by the employees' supervisors which has to be approved by the Council of Ministers.

In four years, the employee is eligible to be transferred to the next category. This can be reduced to two years by written and oral examinations which are used to sort out eligible applicants among government employees, both men and women. Teachers have a similar employment mechanism although they earn more because of the financial incentives attached to the teaching profession.

Although it applies to both sexes, the system of upgrading has its disadvantages for female workers, because of the nature of their market and the limitations on their social mobility. Although females are restricted to certain occupations, the competition for upgrading is open between them and males working in the same occupations within the

male sector. Thus, males tend to be upgraded more often than females for a number of reasons: (a) males have easier access to government publications that announce the competitions and vacancies for upgrading due to their ability to move freely, unlike females; (b) because of this ability and because of their sex as males dealing with males in government departments, which females are denied access to, a great deal of favouritism is practised and (c) applications for upgrading and the process during and after the competition is fairly long and complicated. Unless, the female has a male guardian with enough understanding to bear the burden of a long bureaucratic process, female prospects for upgrading are limited. This helps to explain why some females unjustifiably take up to 8 years to be upgraded to the next category in their occupational scale.

Nevertheless, and before applying for a job, females are required by law to obtain written permission from their guardians (their fathers or their husbands) as a precondition for them to be accepted into a job. This is to ensure acceptance from their family and to ensure that jobs will not conflict with the female's domestic duties or family obligations.<sup>3</sup>

The "logic" underlying this law is the assumption that females are not responsible for themselves or their actions and that is why females have no age of consent within the legal system of Saudi Arabia.



The teaching profession is seen by the educational and employment policy-makers as the most appropriate profession for females (see section 6.1). Thus graduates of the teachers' educational colleges directed by the GPGE are given priority for employment in girls' schools. They are followed by graduates of other GPGE institutions such as the Art College and Higher Institute for Social Studies. The less employable individuals are graduates of the university centres that are attached to men's universities. This is because these female graduates have been educated in institutions that are less conservative and do not share the religious foundation of the GPGE. Those graduates have also been educated and skilled in specialities that are thought not to be suitable for "women's nature" as viewed by the GPGE and other religious authorities. These specialities include management, accounting and economics.

On the other hand, "blue collar" occupations, that require little or no education, are categorized and paid differently. A pre-defined system of 3 categories with 15 ranks is used to place employees whose years of experience and annual evaluation reports determine their promotion into a higher category.

### 6.3: The Role of Educational Qualifications in Female

#### Employment:

Educational qualifications determine to a great extent

entry to most jobs available for females. As has been indicated in section 6.2 above, the government is the major agency that provides females with employment through its Civil Service Bureau which sets up the terms and conditions of service. However, the access and location of jobs improve considerably through the practices of favouritism, a practice that has been identified by different studies including Al-Rowaf (1989) and the present study's findings which will be presented with the empirical data in Chapter Seven. The Primary Certificate has been abolished as an entry requirement for jobs since 1975. The High School Certificate is gradually losing ground for the purpose of employment. Thus, only those with a college degree or further education can anticipate employment and only then if they have been educated in specialities that are open to females in the market such as teaching. Female teachers themselves have to specialize in specific subjects such as English and science. Women with other specialities such as history, geography and sociology are no longer employable.

Internal promotion and advancement by qualifications in the female sector is limited due to the segregation and the limitations placed on females in the labour market. Executive posts within the female sector at the higher administrative level are occupied by males. Others executive posts within female institutions which are determined by long experience and higher qualifications are



few and have been filled by senior female personnel.

These difficulties in internal promotion combined with the extreme scarcity of jobs available to females have resulted in a major change in the government's recruitment criteria and qualifications needed for most jobs. During the last five years, educational qualifications have continued to rise dramatically to such a level that those with more qualifications are more likely to be employed, which in turn keeps those with less qualifications out of the market. This, indeed corresponds to the screening hypotheses which has been presented in Chapter Four, where employers are using qualifications to single out those individuals who are seen through their qualifications to be more trainable. Nevertheless, employers of Saudi Arabian females single out not only those with higher qualifications, but also those with specific specialities that are considered "suitable" for females. Others with only higher qualifications as a single criterion (i.e. graduates of female centres attached to male universities) although they may be employed, are kept longer in the queue and are forced to accept inferior jobs with limited rates of pay.

The phenomenon of qualification escalation is not a special feature of the Saudi Arabian market. Oxenham (1980-84) has observed it in many developing countries including Sri Lanka, India and some other African countries. As in

these countries, the escalation of educational qualifications in Saudi Arabia has driven individuals to demand additional higher education in the hope of improving their employability. The problem encountered here is that the huge expansion of secondary schooling (as illustrated in Chapter Five) has been accompanied by limited employability prospects for its graduates. This has led to greater demand for higher education which has forced universities to raise their admission criteria to cut down on the number of applicants. This rise has forced secondary schooling to be more "grade oriented" and has put more pressure on government to allocate additional finance for higher education at the expense of other types of education.

Indeed, the role of educational qualifications in the Saudi Arabian female labour market can be best explored by looking at the distribution of female workers compared to males by level and types of schooling.

Table 12 represents a breakdown of the workforce in Saudi Arabia for 1987 according to the level and type of education, sex and nationality.



TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORK FORCE ACCORDING TO THE LEVEL AND TYPE OF EDUCATION,  
SEX, AND NATIONALITY FOR 1987 IN SAUDI ARABIA.

KIND AND TYPE OF EDUCATION	SAUDI			NON-SAUDI			TOTAL		
	M	F	% OF F	M	F	% OF F	M	F	% OF F
				GENERAL EDUCATION					
Illiterate	10447	629	5.7%	4	1	2%	10451	630	5.4%
Read and Write	14935	176	1.7%	111	7	6.5%	15046	193	1.2%
Elementary	34345	1642	4.7%	575	86	10%	34920	1728	4.7%
Intermediate	30886	3317	9.7%	1054	216	17%	31940	3533	9.9%
General High School	19032	7060	27%	5223	3683	41%	24255	10743	30.7%
College Degree	31381	13130	29.5%	38467	24668	39%	69848	37798	35%
Post Graduates	3005	375	12.8%	8851	11856	57%	11856	12231	50.8%
TOTAL	288062	26329	8.4%	54285	40517	42.7%	198136	66856	25.2%
VOCATIONAL, EDUCATIONAL AND DIPLOMAS									
Teacher Training Institute	24390	21266	46%	12060	8168	43.3%	36450	29434	44.7%
Faculty College (two years after teacher training institute)	4975	3817	43.4%	1048	2780	72.6%	6023	6597	52.3%
Nursing Institute	2068	731	26%	9887	16449	62.5%	11955	17180	58.9%
Technical Asist Institute	1800	1	0.05%	655	5	0.7%	2455	6	0.24%
Kouany School	167	2	10%	62	-	-	229	2	1.5%
Commercial High School	4687	16	0.3%	1187	87	6.8%	6174	103	1.6%
Telecom, Communication and Radio	2852	5	0.2%	223	-	-	3075	5	0.2%
High Diploma of Commercial	97	7	6.7%	132	25	15.4%	224	32	12.3%
Industrial Institute	2888	1	0.03%	3660	462	10.9%	6648	463	6.5%
Diploma of Agriculture	461	-	-	683	3	0.4%	1144	3	0.3%
Sport Institute	1018	4	0.4%	136	11	7.5%	1154	15	1.3%
Art Studies Institute	859	111	11.4%	897	394	30.5%	1756	505	22.3%
Social Service Institute	45	30	40%	55	50	47.6%	100	80	44.4%
Emprical Geological Studies	16	-	-	-	-	-	16	-	-
Survey Diploma	34	-	-	471	22	4.5%	505	22	4.2%
Technical Aviation	188	-	-	2	3	60%	190	3	1.6%
Administrative Studies	179	9	4.8%	8	10	55.6%	187	19	9.2%
Financial Studies	108	-	6	-	-	-	114	-	-
Law Studies	14	-	-	6	1	14.3%	20	1	4.8%
Computer	58	3	4.9%	12	1	7.7%	70	4	5.4%
Meterology (Diploma)	170	-	-	58	1	1.7%	228	1	0.4%
Red Crescent (Diploma)	2	2	2	6	-	-	8	-	-
Veterinary (Diploma)	15	-	-	23	-	-	38	-	-
Seamen Studies (Diploma)	1	-	-	7	-	-	8	-	-
Civil Engineering (Diploma)	-	-	-	19	-	-	19	-	-
Survey (Diploma)	10	-	-	46	-	-	56	-	-
Construction (Diploma)	-	-	-	17	-	-	17	-	-
Librarian (Diploma)	16	3	15.4%	4	-	-	20	3	13
Higher Technical Diploma	16	-	-	16	3	15.9%	32	3	8.6%
Civil Planning (Diploma)	-	-	-	4	-	-	4	-	-
Typing (Diploma)	32	4	11%	6	-	-	38	4	9.5%
Pharmacology (Diploma)	-	-	-	28	1	3.5%	28	1	3.5%
Secretarial (Diploma)	27	1	3.6%	18	5	21.7%	45	6	11.8%
Electricity (Diploma)	1	-	-	15	-	-	16	-	-
Intermediate Technical College Diploma	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Postal Studies Diploma	749	-	-	90	-	-	839	-	-
Sewing and Knitting	1	83	-	1	1	-	2	84	42.0%
Other Supplementary Studies	6	-	-	9	1	11%	15	1	6%
TOTAL	47952	26094	35%	31551	28483	47%	79909	55077	40.8%

SOURCE: SAUDI ARABIA, FEMALE CIVIL SERVICE BUREAU, RIYADH 1987

Table 12 shows that in 1987, Saudi Arabian females represented only 8.4% of the Saudi Arabian labour force with general educational certificates including colleges and postgraduate studies.

According to the official statistics shown in this table, female workers with vocational training represent 35% of the workforce which includes both Saudi Arabian and non-Saudi labour. Nevertheless, this large share of females identified as vocational qualification holders is mainly a reflection of the teacher training institution graduates which represent 96% of the total female workforce recognized as having a vocational or specific training. The remaining 5% represents other females with specific training including nursing, sewing and knitting. If these specialities are excluded, the percentage of female workers with vocational training such as commercial, agricultural, technical, finance, law, computing, engineering represents only 1% of the total Saudi Arabian and non-Saudi Arabian workforce with vocational qualifications. This, indeed, reflects the nature of females' education which imposes its priorities by teaching what is considered culturally appropriate for females rather than setting out to meet the needs of the market. These needs can be largely identified through the high number of foreign expatriates in the different sectors of the Saudi Arabian economy, whom the government has to employ in order to accommodate the absence of Saudi Arabian



labour with the educational specialities that are most needed in the market. Foreign labour, both men and women, make up a large proportion of the workforce. In 1970, their percentage was estimated at 27% of the total labour force which gradually rose to 40% in 1975 and up to 53% in 1980 (Ismail, et al. 1980: 22, Birks and Sinclair 1980: 113). By 1985, and because of the fall in oil prices, their number has declined to 40.69% (Meri Report 1985: 174). The Third Development plan of Saudi Arabia (1985-1990) indicated that the foreign labour force grew at an average annual rate of 11.7%, whereas the number of Saudi females in the labour force increased at an average annual rate of only 1.5%.

6.4: The Rate of Saudi Females' Participation in the Workforce:

In 1975, the Minority Rights Group in London reported that only one per cent of all Saudi Arabian women were working outside the home for that year. The Third Development Plan in Saudi Arabia indicated that in 1979-80 there were 103,000 women working in the civil service. It estimated the average participation of women in the labour force to be 6% of all women who were considered to be economically active, which omitted 94% of all women of working age out of work for that year (Third Development Plan 1980-1985: 98).

In 1984-1985, the number of females of working age was estimated at 2,659,000. Only 5.1% of them were actually

involved in the labour force (136,800). Table 13 illustrates the total Saudi working age population and civilian labour force 1984-1985 and the expectation for 1989-1990.

TABLE 13  
TOTAL SAUDI WORKING AGE POPULATION CIVILIAN LABOUR FORCE  
1984-1985 TO 1989-1990

	1984 - 1985			1989 - 1990		
	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Working age population	2,686.0	2,659.0	5,345.0	3,237.0	3,210.0	6,447.0
Labour force participation rate (per cent)	61.4	5.1	33.4	61.3	5.5	33.5
Labour force (000)	1,649.2	136.8	1,786.0	1,984.1	176.6	2,160.7

SOURCE: SAUDI ARABIA: FOURTH DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1985-1990

Table 13 shows that 94.4% of all women of working age were not involved with the labour force for 1984-85. It shows that by 1989-90, the potential female labour force of working age who would not be included in the workforce would increase to 94.5%, which indicates that only 5.5% of female labour will be employed by then compared to 61.3% of the male population.

This strengthens the findings of Nabti's (1981) study of manpower in Saudi Arabia which estimated that by 1990, there would be 2.46 million females in the 15-65 age bracket compared with 2.61 million males in the same age bracket. This indicates that females would represent 48.5% of the



total population that could be classified as economically active. Nevertheless, only 5% of the total female population would be employed, leaving about 43.5% of the potentially economically active female population out of the labour force.

It is rather surprising to see that the proportion of women in the labour force has not increased since 1979 when it was estimated by the government at 6% of the total Saudi workforce. In fact, it decreased to 5%, over the following six years, and with the fall in oil prices, the decline in this percentage is likely to continue. Government predictions, through the development plans, have not anticipated a major rise in the rate of female participation in the labour force between 1989-1990. This indeed, raises considerable concern over the policies and strategies relating to Saudi Arabian female education and employment programmes in the coming years which have proved, so far, a major deficit in the use of the female population in relation to the needs of the economy.

This, indeed, emphasizes the finding of Youssef's study (1974: 25) of Muslim women which indicated that in Middle Eastern societies (specifically: Egypt, Iran, Morocco, Libya, Pakistan, Syria and Turkey), female participation rate in the labour force may in fact have little to do with either the level of economic development or the structure of demand for labour in the labour market. This can be extended

to Saudi female labour where, in 1989-90, 95% of them who are considered economically active are kept out of the market not because of the low level of economic development or low level of demand for labour so much as for social and political reasons. Table 14 presents a detailed breakdown of the labour force from 1957-1987 according to sex and nationality in government agencies.

TABLE 14  
THE LABOUR FORCE IN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES IN THE YEARS (1975-1987)  
ACCORDING TO THE SEX AND NATIONALITY IN SAUDI AND  
% OF FEMALE LABOUR AND % OF FOREIGN LABOUR TO SAUDI

	SAUDI LABOUR		FEMALE AS % OF TOTAL	NON SAUDI		FEMALE AS % OF TOTAL	ALL SAUDI AND NON SAUDI		FEMALE AS % OF TOTAL	% OF FOREIGN LABOUR TO SAUDI IN GOVT. AGENCIES
YEAR	M	F	% OF F	M	F	% OF F	M	F	% OF F	
1975	150577	9850	6%	7819	3823	32.8%	158396	13673	7.9%	6.8%
1976	159825	11837	6.9%	10420	4273	29%	170245	16110	8.6%	7.9%
1977	168184	13516	7.4%	13600	4973	26.8%	181784	18489	9%	9.3%
1978	181991	14972	7.6%	22028	8246	27%	204014	23218	10%	13.32%
1979	194881	18102	8.5%	37323	16255	30%	232204	34357	12.9%	20%
1980	206069	21906	9.6%	46424	20897	31%	252443	42803	14.5%	22.8%
1981	216152	27401	11.3%	52232	24630	32%	268384	52031	16%	23.98%
1982	229904	33357	12.7%	59177	29392	33%	289081	62749	17.8%	25.2%
1983	240572	38609	13.8%	67909	36076	34.7%	308481	74680	19.5%	27.13%
1984	238237	43677	15.5%	80096	42012	34%	318333	85689	21%	30.2%
1985	*-	51604	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1986	-	51959	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1987	192735	52477	21.4%	85956	58997	40.7%	278691	111474	28.6%	37.15%

Source: Saudi Arabia: Female Civil Service Bureau. Riyadh 1987

\* - not available



Table 14 illustrates three major points: (1) although the percentage of Saudi females who are economically active is gradually rising, from 6% in 1975 to 21% in 1987, nevertheless the participation rate of females is still low compared to the participation rate of Saudi males or to that of foreign labour; (2) the numbers of foreign female labour are also rising, from 32% in 1975 to 40.7% of the total foreign labour in 1987; (3) the percentage of foreign labour in general has also risen, from 6.8% in 1975 to over 37% of the total workforce in Saudi Arabia by 1987.

#### 6.5: The Occupational Distribution of Saudi Female Labour:

In Saudi Arabia, there is a considerable discrepancy between the occupational distributions of male and female labour. Males, on the one hand, are distributed among the diverse types of economic activities, which reflect the organizational structure of the Saudi Arabian economy (commerce, electricity, manufacturing industries and service sectors). Women, on the other hand, are limited to certain occupations which in turn limits their distribution and mobility, and depresses their rate of participation in the labour market.

Table 15 illustrates the occupational distribution up to August 1988 of Saudi women in government establishments according to the type of job they perform.

THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAUDI AND NON-SAUDI FEMALES IN GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS BY THE TYPE OF JOB UP TO 1988

TOTAL			DOMESTIC WORKERS		EMPLOYEES IN TEACHING JOBS		TEACHING AT THE UNIVERSITY		EMPLOYEES IN NON-EDUCATIONAL JOBS (ADMIN, CLERICAL)		THE GOVERNMENT AGENCIES
\$	NON SAUDI	\$	NON SAUDI	SAUDI	NON SAUDI	SAUDI	NON SAUDI	SAUDI	NON SAUDI	SAUDI	
2.40	1	2							1	2	The Royal Council
	23	341		11	11	276			12	54	The National Guard
	1	21		1		1			1	19	Ministry of Information
		11								11	State Audit Council
	2	9					1		1	9	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
	709	915	53	131	257	495			394	289	Ministry of Defence
	130	605	6	144					124	461	Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs
	224	228	6	175					218	53	Ministry of Interior
	25	494	4	105		258	2		19	130	Ministry of Education
	1521	61612	22	3595	2	49557	674	579	823	7881	General Presidency for Girls Education (GPGE)
84.5		97.6									Ministry of Transport
		1								1	Ministry of Finance and National Economy
		131		16					2814	115	Ministry of Health
	28796	5426	621	2016	1				1	3410	Ministry of Commerce
	1									3	Ministry of Justice
		3								1	Committee for Encouragement of Virtue and Prevention of Vice
		1									
	4								4		Islamic University
		14		1						13	Ministry of Planning
		118		110						8	The General Presidency of Religious Supervision in the Holy Mosques
		82		4						78	General Council for Civilian Service
									1		Ministry of Telecommunication
		1								1	Ministry of Higher Education
	12	11								11	Pension Department: Females
	1	48					1		11	48	General Public Administration Institute
	7	1							11	1	Saudi Railway Organization
	640	813	3	10					7		University of Petroleum and Minerals
	360	423	4	3			318	215	319	588	King Saud University
							156	284	200	136	King Abdul Aziz University
		7								7	Organization for Standardization
	1								1		Water Redemnt Foundation
	658	120	1	9			60	63	597	50	King Faizal University
	2	139		126					2	12	Ministry of Urgan and Rural Affairs
	13	50		6	1		1	15	11	9	Iamamiba Saud University
	2	1							2	1	Organization for Vocational and Technical Training
	116	210	1	11			69	141	46	58	Dome El Kura University
31.6	33251	68.36	721	6472	272	50587	1282	1298	30975	13483	TOTAL 105092

SOURCE: SAUDI ARABIA: FEMALE CIVIL SERVICE BUREAU 1987



It shows that Saudi Arabian females are mainly engaged in the teaching profession, in which more than 51,000 women were working in 1988. This represents about 72.22% of all Saudi females working in government establishments. The teaching sector is the main source of employment for females followed by the services sector, in jobs such as administration, clerical and social services in which 13,483 females were working, which represents 8.76% of the Saudi Arabian female labour force. The table shows that the main government establishment containing most of the Saudi female labour is the GPGE with 86%. Other government establishments with the exception of the Ministry of Health, which employs 7.5% of female labour, do employ very few Saudi females. The Institute for Public Aid, for example, employs only 0.06%, which does not indicate real employment prospects for females as advocated by the government. On the other hand, female foreign labour represents a large number of females working in the government, especially in the health sectors including nurses and other medical staff with 84.5%. It is unfortunate that statistics are not explicit on the specific jobs females practice within the sectors such as laboratory technicians in girls' schools or secretaries with special office skills. This would have helped to classify them according to their economic activities.

In all cases, and through the distribution of female occupations, it seems that women are engaged mainly in

working with organizations that deal with women and children such as schools and social services, since this does not violate the conventional line of employment expected of women. That is why 97% of females working in the GPGE institutions are Saudis. Other types of jobs are assigned to males or foreign female labour. Females are deliberately excluded from the major activities of the Saudi Arabian economy such as mining and petroleum, manufacturing, trade and construction which are considered male preserves at the educational and occupational levels.

Table 16A illustrates the distribution of the workforce according to sex, nationality and economic activity in Saudi Arabia in 1974. This gives an indication of the organization of the Saudi economy and the share of Saudi female labour in each sector. However, a major shift has been seen in the Saudi economy since 1974 which is illustrated in Table 16B. The justification for using 1974 statistics is that there are no later data available on labour in Saudi Arabia which classify employment according to sex, nationality and economic activity.



**TABLE 16A**  
**LABOUR FORCE ACCORDING TO THE SEX, NATIONALITY AND**  
**ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN SAUDI FOR 1974**

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY	SAUDI		NON SAUDI		TOTAL	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agricultural Fishing	50.10	75.20	7.30	3.00	40.30	60.30
Mining and Stone Cutting	1.60	-.10	1.50	1.80	1.60	-.50
Industry	2.10	2.80	12.40	8.50	4.40	4.00
Electricity, Gas and Water	-.70	-.20	1.70	1.00	1.00	-.30
Construction	3.70	-	27.70	-	9.20	-
Wholesalers, Restaurants and Hotel Services	6.20	1.20	17.30	11.30	8.70	3.20
Transport, Travelling Services	7.50	-.30	4.20	1.00	6.80	-.50
Commercial & Trade Services	-.60	-	1.00	-	-.70	-
Social & Domestic Services	23.80	19.20	23.60	72.40	23.80	30.20
Not stated	3.70	1.00	3.30	1.00	3.50	1.00
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
TOTAL NUMBER	1249181	76900	371250	19963	1620431	96863

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia  
The Population Situation in the Ecua Region: Saudi Arabia  
in Harfoush 1983: 132.

**TABLE 16B**  
**EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR 1980**

SECTOR	% OF ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION EMPLOYED*
Agriculture	24.2
Mining	0.3
Oil and Refineries	1.5
Manufacturing	4.2
Public Utilities	1.3
Construction	13.3
Trade	12.6
Transport	8.7
Finance and Business Services	1.4
Community and Social Services	19.5
Public Administration and Defence	13.0

\* Economically active population. 21% (2.2%) women.

Source: Saudi Arabia. Ministry of Planning 1982 in Meri Report  
Saudi Arabia Middle East Research Institute. University of  
Pennsylvania/Croom Helm 1985: 179.

Table 16A indicates that in 1974 75% of female labour was concentrated in agricultural activities compared to 50% of males. This however, has changed since the share of labour in this sector of the economy, as indicated by Table 16B, has dropped from 33.2% in 1973 to 24.2% and to less than 13.9% in 1984-1985 (Third Development Plan 1985-1990: 32).

Females were also engaged in social and personal services at 19.20% compared to males at 23.80%. However, and with the exception of a handful of old women who sell old Bedouin jewellery and spices in local markets, hardly any were active in commerce, electricity or manufacturing industry. It is unfortunate that no recent statistics are available on the distribution of female labour among the different sectors. However, Table 16A illustrates the specific features of the Saudi female labour force which was, and still is, confined to certain professions that are seen to be appropriate and culturally accepted, but nevertheless do not necessarily correspond to the real needs of the economy or to the demands for female labour in the labour market.

#### 6.6: The Unemployment Problem among Educated Females:

The unemployment phenomenon is a recent one which has been observed in the last few years among educated Saudi Arabian males and females alike. Following the fall in oil prices, Saudi Arabian financial revenues from oil, which



represent 90% of the country's income, and other resources have shown a constant decline since 1983. This has resulted in a major cut-back in government expenditure and cancellations of many development projects. (Ministry of Planning 1985:2).

Since government enterprises and public employment outweigh the private, the Saudi labour market was deeply affected by the slow-down in government demand for more workers. Female labour has been severely hit because women are prevented from pursuing a career within the private sector and because they are confined to certain professions within the government agencies. Thus an oversupply of educated females has depressed the market for them and reduced their wages.

In recent years, the few occupations available for women in the educational institutions have been filled with graduates from earlier years. Many new vacancies within these jobs in female educational establishments are being eliminated due to the limited financial resources available. This has created a long waiting list of graduates who have to queue up for jobs for three or four years in some specialities before securing inferior jobs that are not commensurate with their qualifications. Nor does it satisfy their financial expectation of the economic return they were led to expect of their education. The government employment bureau has admitted that in the last few years, an attempt

has been made to meet graduates' employment needs which has resulted in over-employment in some sectors and rises in the number of graduates out of work (Al Dukhail 1983).

However, no official statistics on the number of graduates waiting for jobs or the number of jobs available compared to the supply of labour have been made publicly available. Nevertheless, the problem of unemployment among Saudi educated females is a peculiar one that is linked with many other educational, social and economic issues, some of which have been given little attention in the literature relating to Saudi Arabian females.

One of the major issues is the value of schooling that has no economic return to its recipients or to the society which has paid for that education. Nabti (1980: 44) questions the economic return on such education when female graduates are confined to certain occupations that no longer absorb them. The female samples who have been interviewed for this research have also expressed deep doubt about the value of their education and their career future, as will be shown in detail in the empirical data in Chapter Seven. Group 2 of the sample is an example of those females who waited for years as unemployed and who have finally obtained jobs that are not commensurate with their educational qualifications, which indicates that in recent years the economic return on a female's education reflects not the value of the employee's qualifications so much as the new



recruitment policies.

Ironically, with the question of the value of education being challenged by those who have managed through years of waiting or connections to secure a job, others who have not succeeded yet, are trying to acquire more education in order to enhance their employability. This illustrates the scale of the qualification escalation problem among both employers and employees. Individuals, on the one hand, try to improve their human and professional value by acquiring more education. On the other, employers try to raise their qualification requirements for available jobs in order to filter applicants with higher qualifications. Qualifications are treated by the employers as a signalling device of the individual's abilities. This puts more demand for education on educational institutions, especially in further and higher education.

The problem for Saudi females is that their access to higher education is limited to certain specialities. As Chapter Five illustrates, colleges and university centres for girls are facing difficulties with a growing number of high school graduates demanding higher education. The female market is no longer recruiting high school graduates, due to the oversupply of university graduates. Thus, thousands of young females are left with no education and no work, isolated in their homes with limited access to the outside world. Taking into account the limited social mobility of

Saudi women, their limited participation in public life, the prohibition on driving, and the unavailability of public transportation, females in reality are left with the agony of isolation, frustration and a deep feeling of worthlessness. It is unfortunate that no studies have been conducted on the social and psychological effects of unemployment on educated females in Saudi Arabia.<sup>4</sup> Another important issue associated with the unemployment problem is the gap or time lag between the graduation of individuals and finding employment. Sarup (1982) indicates the effect of the waiting period for employment on the quality and work characteristics of employees. Workers are having to wait years before being granted a job and this affects their motivation to work. Individuals may lose their motivation, their readiness to be part of the work environment which affects their commitment to work. Saudi Arabian females are more affected because of the generality of their education with no vocational and social training to enhance their vocational skills and improve their social work characteristics. Females have to go through years of waiting and end up with jobs that do not respond to their needs or to their educational specialities. Employers and organizations are faced with an obvious mis-match between the quality of females turned out for employment after years of waiting and the quality of workers required by the workplace.



This is a clear feature of group 2 of the present study sample (Education + No Experience). Those newcomers to the workplace with university degrees who waited years before being granted jobs that were previously assigned to primary or intermediate graduates, were the least committed to work and there is a significant difference between them and group 1 (Education + Work Experience) in most work characteristics studied in this research. These issues are more thoroughly presented in Chapter 7.

#### 6.7: Social and Cultural Factors Affecting Female's

##### Participation in the Labour Market:

A study of education and employment of Arab women by Abu Nasr, et al. (1985) suggests that female employment in the Gulf has been basically moulded by social factors, since these dictate what type of economic activities are deemed appropriate.

This is true in the sense that all forms of female participation in the labour force have to be in conformity with codes of modest behaviour identified by the social and religious forces whose main concern is the minimal intermingling of the sexes. Almana (1981: 25) argues that the educational system tends to socialize and direct individuals into particular areas of the occupational structure through curricula and books, especially in a school system which segregates the sexes like that in Saudi

Arabia in which the stated goal of female education is to be a good wife and mother and to work in girls' education.

This argument should not disguise the fact that the female educational system in Saudi in its present form is part of a total social and political system that is designed to produce and reproduce a traditional social structure in which women are portrayed through their traditional roles with the minimum of changes possible. Reproduction theorists assert that

"the schools reinforce the division of labour in the society by maintaining class, race and gender inequalities. The argument states that schools do not mediate or seek to change the structures of society or the characteristics of individuals who occupy positions of wealth, status and power. The schools are static because they are microcosms of the society, rather than an agent for change". (Kelly and Nihlen in Apple 1982: 162)

Female schooling in Saudi Arabia has worked to minimise the effects brought about by interaction with the outside world. Not only through text-books and explicit instructions but also through the "hidden curricula" including the structure of authority in the school, power relations, a system of rewards for "proper" behaviour, roles and policies guarding females (staff and students alike) and the practices of purdah and modest behaviour, the processes of schooling have worked to make the inequalities in power, status and wealth between the two sexes accepted as normal. Schooling emphasizes the complete segregation in public and private places between men and women. Schooling has justified the



limited roles and opportunities given to women in education, work and the public sphere, and has provided an ideological support for male domination and female subordination.

Existing social structures have used education, laws and the media to build and reproduce a system of cultural values that portray women as less important than men in economic terms. This is even more so with the oil boom, which made women less productive and less important for survival as in tribal settings. The wealth of the state makes it easy to mobilize and control women by different means (e.g. the ability to create a separate educational and work institution for females regardless of the extra cost). The GPGE (reviewed in section 6.8) as one of the main religious and official establishments plays a vital role in the Saudi Arabian female labour market. It has created a set of working policies that other social institutions follow when employing females. These policies are directed towards women's participation in the workforce and conditioning women themselves to accept these policies and limitations as the natural way of life. This corresponds to Bowles and Gintis (1976) argument that education not only allocates individuals to a relatively fixed set of positions in society but the process of education itself, the formal and hidden curriculum, socializes people to accept as legitimate the limited roles they ultimately fill in society (Apple 1979: 32).

This is, in fact, why it is difficult to accept the argument put forward in the literature on Saudi Arabian females which has been identified in the introduction to this chapter. This literature advocates that the Saudi Arabian employment problems for females would be solved with the opening of more opportunities for them in the labour market. The present study stresses that such an approach would not on its own lead to more appropriate use of females in the labour market and unless fundamental ideological changes were introduced to the existing social structure and to the position of women within that structure in which the media, the school and other social and religious forces view the role of women differently, little change can be expected.

#### 6.8: The Role of the GPGE in the Saudi Female Labour Market

The role of the GPGE in the Saudi Arabian female labour market is of special importance since, as has been illustrated in Chapter Five, 98% of Saudi females are schooled through GPGE educational institutions and 86% of the Saudi Arabian female workforce are employed in these institutions. The GPGE, legitimized by its religious foundation, considers itself and is considered by other social and religious forces as the prime organization responsible for women's education and employment policies and practices. This has forced other government agencies in



which women work (such as university centres, hospitals) to adopt a similar strategy and working conditions when dealing with its female employees.

Thus, the power and policies of the GPGE in the area of Saudi Arabian women's education and employment, have considerable implications for the policies and practices implemented in the female labour market. Firstly: the GPGE sets out the acceptable line of female employment. Teaching is the appropriate job for females with its high pay and most convenient working arrangement (less hours work with a long vacation). Secondly: the GPGE administrative approach with its female employees which is reflected in its internal regulations distributed to female workers in schools around the Kingdom is a highly restrictive and autocratic one. Through its tone and orders, this approach perceives females as passive and incapable of taking decisions or managing difficulties. The problem with this approach is that it is inflicted on 86% of the Saudi Arabian female labour and that it sets an example for other government establishments who employ women over the terms and work conditions of their female employees.

Al-Hariri's (1986) study of the communication problem between women school administrators and the GPGE officers reveals that autocracy of the male administrators reflects negatively on women's administration. Men seem to be autocratic because of the way in which they dominate women

and the centralization of the administration by men whose actions are governed by their religious culture in the traditional manner. Difficulties arise from men's absolute control of policy and action.

"The authority which is given by government to religious men to control girls' education by implementing Islamic Law and statements which say 'men are overseers of women', therefore they must control women's movement." (Al-Hariri 1986: 413)

The types of problems that face women administrators reflect the ways in which the GPGE, through its religious figures, views and uses women in the workplace. The study mentioned above revealed that the GPGE's officials use a very autocratic management approach:

"Men always insist on their opinion, they give orders, no time for discussion (p.395); very strict and very conservative, they consider women only as implementors, translators of their ideas, any decision by them cannot be negotiated." (p.349)

Al Hariri questioned her sample about the effect of the division of males and females on communication. They indicated that such a division is not strange for them since they were conditioned to it in every aspect of their lives since childhood. However, they spoke of the men's administration and control over everything, the way in which men view women "as needing improvement" regardless of women's education; as not being able to understand any situation or decide on anything, they look upon female workers in schools and female administrators as "inferior" (Al-Hariri 1986).



A review of some of the GPGE internal regulations and roles reveals the extent of power and control which the GPGE assumes for itself over the practices of female workers.

In one of its regulations for intermediate and high schools, the GPGE issued a number of articles in which one stated that

"the General Presidency of Girls' Education prohibits all its participants, including principals, administrators, teachers, workers and its pupils from embracing or calling for any destructive ideologies or practising any political or cultural activities inside or outside the schools."(GPGE 1980, The Intermediate & High School Internal Law Regulation, Article No. 56)

The GPGE has also extended and exercises its power over the private and social lives of its members. In another circulated memo, the workforce and students in general education and higher education were requested not to participate or organize private parties for any social events in hotels or other public places other than homes. Another memorandum pointed out that too much perfume is being worn by staff and students which contrasts with modesty.<sup>5</sup>

These rules go hand in hand with the GPGE's arrangements and control over female educational institutions which sets an example of an excessive mode of conservatism by observing strict rules regarding the veil and movement in schools and out of schools of faculty and students. Such rules and regulations have been implemented in the name of Islam to preserve women's dignity and

modesty. This can be challenged on the basis that Islam has been interpreted by different groups in a variety of ways which facilitate the needs of these groups. Thus, the GPGE and other social forces which assume the control of the education and employment of females in Saudi Arabia are using Islam for their own ends. That is to preserve the existence of a traditional society which holds women to be inferior and less capable and in need of protection by the traditional customs and by a complete segregation from public life. This argument can best be presented through an illustration of Islam's stand on the issue of women's work which is discussed in the following section.

#### 6.9: Islam and the Question of Women's Work:

Due to the nature of Islamic laws and traditions which are frequently invoked to account for behaviour among Muslims, particularly behaviour between the two sexes (Bo Utas 1983:2), Islam, and its various interpretations of the interaction between males and females, has been used as a cultural force to control and eliminate women's involvement in the labour market.

Generally speaking, there are three main streams of thought within Islamic teaching regarding women's participation in the labour force: the fundamentalists, the liberals and the modern interpretations of Islamic principles. Fundamentalists view women as biologically and



mentally inferior to men, thus, their role should be restricted to their responsibilities at home. Al-Bahi and Al-Kouly (1960: 241) advocate the argument that women are not suitable for work outside the home for three reasons: (a) that their feminine and motherhood abilities should be mainly directed to tasks within the family and would be greatly disrupted by women's work outside; (b) that women are inferior to men in their intellectual abilities which are designed to facilitate their limited and natural duties at home and with children; and (c) that menstruation causes pain, headache and affects women's mental abilities which makes them unsuitable for paid jobs.

Reda (1978: 38) states his absolute conclusion that there is no argument about the fact that God preferred men over women. Men have bigger brains, stronger muscles and are more capable of acquiring knowledge and performing tasks than women. The Koran says

"men shall have pre-eminence above women because of those advantages wherein God hath caused the one of them to excel the other, and for that which they expend of their substance in maintaining their wives."  
(The Koran 4:35)

Saudi Arabian fundamentalists have supported such attitudes. Jamall (1981: 131-134) illustrates the negative consequences of western women working outside the house. The fall of the European empires was one event which resulted from women working alongside men and neglecting their natural duties at home and with their children. He calls

for women to go back to their homes and he continues by illustrating the pleasure of men coming home to their obedient and well-behaved wives. Al-Ansary and Arafa (1986: 27-93) argue that men and women within Islam have been created for specific duties: men to work outside and women inside the house. They continue by saying that the natural classification of social responsibilities relies on women mastering their duties toward their husbands and children and they should ignore working outside the house which would increase the problem of unemployment among men.

Liberals, although they share the fundamentalist view of women as biologically and mentally inferior to men, still maintain that Islam, in its basic principles, has equalized men and women in rights and responsibilities. Women in principle are not prevented in Islam from acquiring work outside the house. They stress, however, the fact that work should always be governed by Islamic teachings. Wahba (1983: 208) illustrates three principles that should safeguard women's participation in the labour market:

- this should be done in a separate place to which men have no access.
- that a real need should exist for female labour either by the society or by the individual female employee herself.
- that this work should not affect female primary duties in the family and with children.



This view is also shared by Al Asaf (1986: 49) who broadens the concept of women's labour to include their work at home which should be regarded as just as important as outside work. Al-Masry (1972: 82-95), although he admits that Islam at the theoretical level does not deny women their right to work, does however stress the negative consequences of women's participation in the public sector (e.g. increases in unemployment, mixing with men).

Modernists have viewed Islam in a more relaxed and rational way with regard to women's participation at work. In a distinguished study Alabd Alhay (1983) compared the restrictions placed on Saudi Arabian women's participation in public activities which are usually attributed to Islam with the ideal Islamic outlook towards women. He argues that segregation and commingling between males and females seems to be one of the major reasons behind women's limited areas of work by giving it a negative meaning which denotes corruption in mixing between the sexes. He states that what is occurring in Saudi today is not dictated by ideal Islamic teaching but rather by changing social and traditional values. In fact, the Koran, the Hadith (the Prophet's sayings) and Islamic history all seem to support the argument for giving women equal rights for participation in public, social and political activities. This suggests that women could interact with men in places of work, education and fighting and both men and women should always observe

Islamic rules regarding dress, morals and modesty (Alabd Alhay 1983:313).

This view is also supported by Al-Ahmad's (1986) study in which he questioned a few hundred Saudi Arabian students studying in the state with regard to women's participation in the workforce and revealed an overwhelming agreement that restrictions placed on women in Saudi are not related to Islam in its ideal concept but rather to traditions and local norms.

In fact, legislation on Muslim women became more restrictive over the centuries after Islam was revealed. Stowasser's (1984) study of women's status in early Islam noted that early interpretations of the Quran and Hadith were simpler and were given different weight than in centuries that followed. She took one example, the following verses from the Koran:

"men are the managers of the affairs of women for that God has preferred in one of them over another, and for that they have expanded of their property. Righteous women are therefore obedient, guarding the secret of God's guarding. And those you fear may be rebellious admonish; banish them to their couches and beat them." ("Women Sura", verse 35, Arberry's translation)

Stowasser notes that one early interpretation (Tabari A.D. 923) held simply that men had authority over women in the family setting and that they had an obligation to provide material support. Three hundred and fifty years later, another interpretation (Bagdawi A.D. 1286) which was to hold thereafter, was that men were in charge of women as



rulers were in charge of their subjects and that women were unfit for public duty (Stowasser in Hijab 1988: 17).

This illustrates that women in a Muslim society like that in Saudi Arabia have been ill-treated and discriminated against by a misuse of religious instructions and a restrictive interpretation of Islamic teaching that built up over centuries and which may not necessarily represent the pure and ideal Islamic view of women's issues.

#### 6.10: Difficulties Facing Saudi Working Women

Due to the different social and official restrictions placed on women's mobility within the social fabric, female workers are faced with a number of difficulties that have been identified as major obstacles hindering women's participation in the labour market.

Research on Saudi Arabian women has identified seven major problems facing women at work, many of which have been already discussed. Gadi (1979), Al Jiffry (1983), Assad (1983), Akad (1983), Nabti (1980), Almana (1981), Khalifa (1987), Al Nemer (1988) have illustrated some of these difficulties which include:

The strict interpretation of Islamic teaching that prevents women from participating equally in public life unlike other Arab and Islamic countries. Nabti (1980: 192) noticed that

"there are a considerable number of educational policy makers and religious authorities in Saudi today who

look at women as biologically different from men and that any education and/or work a woman performs outside the home is destructive to both the family and the society."

- Traditional values which view work outside the home as unnecessary for women who have male guardians.
- Low educational standards and the unavailability of vocational training for women which prevents them from acquiring special skills or the training needed in the market.
- Labour force laws which limit females' work opportunities to certain occupations such as teaching, nursing, sewing and knitting which lead to an absolute scarcity of jobs in the market and to the unemployment problem spreading among educated females.
- Laws against women working with private companies which deprive women of a large job market in the private sector.
- The limitation on the external and internal mobility of female labour between jobs and among the different segments of the labour market.
- Laws requiring women to have written permission of acceptance from their guardians when applying for jobs, which put females' desire and ability to work under the control, judgement and personal desire of the guardians.
- Inconvenient means of public transportation and the law against women driving.
- The limited number of day-care centres and nurseries that do not match the number of children of working mothers. This



has forced many working mothers to leave their jobs or hire a private helper (mother's help or nanny) who are usually from other countries speaking a different language, from a different culture and with low educational attainment which creates another set of problems for working mothers. The existing day-care centres are characterised by limited facilities and low educational standards of staff.

#### 6.11 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has focused on women in the labour market. It looks at female employment within the government sector and the role schooling plays in determining female employment under the GPGE administration which plays a vital role in formulating and constituting Saudi Arabian female schooling and employment. The GPGE, through its institutional objectives and practices, enhances the sexual division of labour in which employment is determined not by individual choice or ability but rather by gender. The labour market is segmented largely by gender in which the female segments are constrained in certain occupations and working conditions not because of their individual characteristics or their education or experience but, rather for political and cultural reasons.

The economic return of jobs and the unemployment problem of this segment do not reflect the productivity of the female workers. Rather these are influenced by other

variables exogenous to individual productivity such as sexism, customs, bureaucracy and status.

This labour market segmentation has segregated women from the open and private market. This affects women's opportunities, the level of participation and their occupational structure in which only 5% of females who are considered economically active have access to the labour market.

Limited occupational choices and restrictions on women's participation in other jobs available to males have resulted in an overcrowding of available occupations and this has led to unemployment, qualification escalation and the over-supply of educated females.

Religious and cultural forces contribute greatly to the ideological formation of the status of working women who face immense difficulties in acquiring jobs at the present time through a conservative interpretation of Islamic teaching which results in limited educational and occupational opportunities for females in a shrinking economic environment.

The following chapter illustrates with empirical data the effect of such restrictive practices on women's working characteristics.

#### Notes to Chapter Six

1. Here used synonymously for human resources development.



2. See Appendix V for labour laws regarding women.
3. Such a policy is also practised when females wish to acquire education and as there is no compulsory education policy in Saudi, females are left to the good-will of their guardians.
4. There are two main reactions among women in their response to their unemployment problem:
  - (a) The constant rise in psychological disturbance and depression among females. Unfortunately, statistics are not publicly available although I was given the impression by some doctors in the Ministry of Health Psychiatric Hospital that these statistics are not explicit and do not include unemployment as a variable.
  - (b) The rise of religious beliefs and practices among young girls who have limited themselves to the extreme conservative interpretation of Islam on the role of women which limits females to the home and family obligations. These young females are advised by religious leaders to abandon public life for fear of mixing with men and that any feelings of injustice or deprivation they may experience now would be remedied in life after death.
5. For the memos for staff using too much perfume etc. see Appendix VI.

## Chapter Seven

### Empirical Analysis of the Work Characteristics of Female Employees in Saudi Arabia

#### Introduction:

This chapter analyses the data gathered in the field work which took place in Riyadh between 16th December 1987 and 30th May 1988. As has been indicated in Chapter Two on the methodology, in interpreting and analysing the data of the field work the study takes into account the conceptual and theoretical framework of the present thesis and the nature of Saudi Arabian females' education and employment structures, which have been presented in previous chapters. The aim is to introduce a sociological and educational analysis that allows for more sensitive understanding of the cultural and religious factors affecting the major functions of the Saudi Arabian female education and labour market. Thus, the study uses qualitative and quantitative approaches in analysing the field work data of the four groups of the study for comparative purposes. Section 7.1 of this chapter presents the background features of the four groups of the sample and includes the educational qualifications, years of experience, jobs performed, status and age. Section 7.2 analyses the data on the nine work characteristics of the four groups in relation to their education and working experience. These nine work characteristics, although discussed in Chapter Two, are also included here. They are:



(1) work commitment, (2) working cooperatively and acceptance of others' differences, (3) change orientation, (4) educational and technical skills valuation, (5) educational and occupational aspiration, (6) responsibility, (7) decision making, (8) time valuation and (9) planning. The main features of the four groups of the sample, who are all females working in government educational institutions and vary in respect to their education and work experience, are recalled as follows:

Group (1): working women with education and three years or more of working experience as teachers, student attendants and secretaries.

Group (2): working women with education, but who are newly employed as teachers, student attendants and secretaries.

Group (3): working women with three years or more of work experience with no educational background such as domestic workers and housekeepers within the schools.

Group (4): working women who are newly employed with no educational background, such as domestic workers and housekeepers within the schools.

#### 7.1: Background features of the sample:

The background information includes the basic features of the four groups of the sample which are particularly meaningful to the study. This includes: level of education, years of experience, type of job performed, marital status and age, as presented in Table 17.

TABLE 17  
THE BACKGROUND FEATURES OF THE FOUR GROUPS OF THE SAMPLE

GROUPS	LEVEL OF EDUCATION	NO	%	WORK EXPERIENCE MONTHS & YEARS	NO	%	TYPE OF JOB PERFORMED	NO	%	STATUS	NO	%	AGE	NO	%
FIRST GROUP (EDUCATION + WORK EXPERIENCE)	College Ed. High School	9 11	45 55	3 to 6 Years 7 to 10 Years 11 to 18 Years	6 8 6	30 40 30	Teachers School Attendant Secretaries T.V. Attendant Administrative Assistant	6 4 4 3 3	30 20 20 15 15	Married Divorced Single	12 2 6	60 10 30	25 - 28 29 - 32 33 and over	10 8 2	50 40 10
TOTAL		20			20			20			20			20	
SECOND GROUP (EDUCATION + NO EXPERIENCE)	College Ed. High School and two years after	17 3	85 15	1 to 2 mths 3 to 4 mths 5 months 6 months	4 9 6 1	20 45 30 5	Teachers School Attendant Secretaries	5 7 8	25 35 40	Married Divorced Single	11 1	55 5	23 - 26 27 - 30	8 12	40 60
TOTAL		20			20			20			20			20	
THIRD GROUP (NO EDUCATION + EXPERIENCE)				3 to 6 Years 7 to 10 Years 11 to 15 Years	6 6 8	30 30 40	Workers House-keepers and Cleaners	20	100	Married Divorced Widow	16 2 2	80 10 10	30 - 35 36 - 40 41 - 45 46 - 50 51 - 55	3 5 5 4 3	15 25 25 20 15
TOTAL		20			20			20			20			20	
FOURTH GROUP (NO EDUCATION + NO EXPERIENCE)				3 to 6 months 7 months	13 7	65 35	Workers House-keepers and Cleaners	20	100	Married Divorced	18 2	90 10	28 - 35 36 - 40 41 - 50	7 9 4	35 45 20
TOTAL		20			20			20			20			20	
TOTAL		80			80			80			80			80	



Educational background and years of experience at work are important in examining the hypotheses on the relationship between the work characteristics of each group and their educational and experience background, which are examined in Section 7.2.

Table 17 shows that 87% of groups 1 and 2 (with education) have a college degree, 35% with either a high school certificate or two years of studying after high school, whereas the other two groups have no educational background. In terms of work experience, groups 1 and 3 have been working outside the home and mainly in educational institutions for not less than three years. Some have spent up to 15 and 18 years on the job. Groups 2 and 4, on the other hand, have insufficient experience and are newly employed during the last 3 to 6 months at the time the field work was conducted. Type of job performed indicates the range of occupations which the sample is occupying within the educational institutions. Table 17 shows that the sample is distributed across the different occupations practised in girls' schools and university centres. Twenty-seven per cent of the first two groups (with education) are teachers, 27% are student attendants, 30% are secretaries, 7.5% are T.V. attendants and 7.5% are administrative assistants. Groups 3 and 4 with no education are all working as cleaners and housekeepers in these establishments.

Status and age are presented in the table although their use is limited compared to the other three features of the groups (education, experience and type of job). This is because these two features have helped to interpret some of the qualitative data gathered from the different groups on the effect of their status as married or divorced in their response to the different questions of the interview schedule, as will be illustrated in section 7.2. Table 17 indicates that 71% of all the sample across the groups are married. This implies that these working women carry a dual responsibility at work and at home. Sixty-two per cent of the sample are aged between 25-35, and 38% are over 35.

#### 7.2: Analysis of the data:

This section analyses the field work data that aim to examine the nine work characteristics of the four groups of the sample and the effect of their educational background and work experience on these characteristics.

Each characteristic (aspect) is analysed separately for each group of the four. For the sake of clarity and to simplify the task of presenting and analysing the information, qualitative and quantitative data for each characteristic are divided within the aspect into different items with specific titles, thus grouping related issues together. For example, in work commitment, data are grouped under the following headings: (a) preference for the



present job, (b) more time and effort by the sample as a sign of commitment, (c) difficulties faced by the respondents which affect their commitment, and (d) the value and concept of work. Under each item, the statistical and qualitative data regarding the four groups are analysed either separately or jointly for comparative purposes.

This is followed by an examination of the hypotheses of the study. As has been indicated in the methodology (in Chapter Two) the analysis of variance (ANOVA) was applied to test the significant effect of both education and work experience and their interaction on the nine work characteristics means, with the level of significance established at .05. The mean of each group in each of the nine characteristics was calculated. This was calculated by summing up the mean for each group in the questions on each work characteristic divided by the number of questions answered by each group.

The response of the participants on each item of the nine characteristics is rated numerically. A negative response is given the score 1, not sure 2, and positive response 3. The values of each group are tabled and presented with the analysis of each work characteristic.

Section 7.3 of this chapter presents an overall analysis of the nine work characteristics in relation to the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

### 7.2.1: Work Commitment:

Work commitment focuses on the extent to which employees identify with the organizational goals, value membership of the organization and intend to work hard to attain the overall organizational goals (Porter, Steers, Mowday and Boulian 1974; Steers 1977 in Steers and Porter 1979).

The present study aims to establish an understanding of the ways in which the four groups of the sample perceive their work, value it as a concept and commit themselves through their actual performance and behaviour on the job, together with their ability to balance work duties with other life commitments such as in the family, and the importance they assign to their professional career.

Data for this aspect are grouped under the following headings: (a) preference of the groups for their present occupation compared to other types of jobs, (b) more time and effort by the respondents as a sign of commitment, (c) the concept and value of work among the respondents, (d) testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on work commitment, and (e) means of the groups on work commitment.

Table 18 presents the frequency data and the values of education, work experience and their interaction for the four groups in work commitment.



TABLE 18  
FREQUENCY DATA AND F VALUE FOR WORK COMMITMENT

NO. ITEMS	GROUP 1		GROUP 2		GROUP 3		GROUP 4	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
1. I work here because - I like working here - No other job available - My certificate does not qualify me for any other job	8	40%	6	30%	14	70%	7	35%
	9	45%	14	70%	6	30%	10	50%
	3	15%	-	-	-	-	3	15%
	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
2. I would like to remain in this job	Yes		5	25%	14	70%	12	60%
	No		15	75%	6	30%	8	40%
			20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
3. I would prefer to do some other type of job	Yes		15	75%	3	15%	8	40%
	No		5	25%	17	85%	12	60%
			20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
			20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
4. Job should come first even if it means sacrificing time from recreation	Yes		2	10%	-	-	4	20%
	No		10	50%	17	85%	8	40%
	Sometimes		8	40%	3	15%	8	40%
			20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
5. Balance between work & family obligation - absent from work - come late - leave early - organize myself the previous day - all above	5	25%	6	30%	6	30%	2	10%
	-	-	-	-	1	5%	-	-
	11	55%	10	50%	10	50%	17	85%
	2	10%	1	5%	-	-	1	5%
	2	10%	3	15%	3	15%	-	-
	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
6. Stay longer at work if needed - stay according to work needs - forced to stay - won't stay because I don't like it - won't stay because of family	10	50%	6	30%	7	35%	12	60%
	7	35%	8	40%	11	55%	7	35%
	2	10%	4	20%	1	5%	1	5%
	1	5%	2	10%	1	5%	-	-
	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%

Level of significance established at .05  
H1. Education: F = 4.63 Significant at (p<0.05)  
H2. Work Experience: F = 0.37 Not significant.  
H3. Interaction between education and work experience: F = 5.36 Significant at (p<0.02)  
Overall differences between the four groups: F = 3.46 significant at (p<0.05)

(a): Preference for the present job:

In this regard, three questions were addressed to the four groups. The first question related to their liking for their present jobs. The highest response was found in group 3 (Experience + No Education), in which 70% express their liking for their job. The lowest was among group 2 (Education + No Experience) in which 70% express their dislike for the job they occupy. This low response among the second group can be understood in the light of what has been discussed in Chapter Six on the over-supply of educated females with limited job opportunities that has forced workers in group 2 to accept jobs that are not commensurate in their duties or rates of pay to the group's educational qualifications.

On the other hand, 55% of the first group (Education + Experience) express their liking for their job whereas the remaining 45% accepted the job because no other job was available, similar to 50% of group 4 (No Education + No Experience) who also expressed the same response for being in their present jobs. In fact, only 35% of the whole sample across the four groups expressed liking for their present job, 35% occupied it because no other jobs were available in the market, and 35% were forced into the job by the type or limitation of their educational qualifications.

This question was followed by another regarding the groups' willingness to remain working in their present job.



Fifty-five per cent of group 1, 70% of group 3, 60% of group 4 and only 25% of group 2 showed a desire to remain. In fact, only 42% of all the sample across the group showed their desire to keep their jobs while 47.5% expressed wishes for a different job and, as in the first question, group 2 showed the least desire of all the groups to remain in the job, with 75% expressing their desire to leave if other jobs were found.

To explore these findings further, another question was addressed to them on their preference for a different type of job from their present. Their response shows a similar pattern to their response to the previous questions. Group 2 showed the highest desire for a different type of job (75%), followed by group 1 (45%), then group 4 (40%).

The overall analysis of the groups' responses indicates that groups with no education (the third and fourth) showed the highest preference for their present jobs whereas group 2 (with Education) showed the lowest. This high preference amongst the uneducated may be explained by the fact that their aspirations and professional ambitions over acquiring types of jobs are nil because of the very few jobs available to them in the market that do not require education. The lowest preference found among group 2 (with Education) can be understood in the light of the low paid jobs they were forced to accept. On the other hand, having both education and work experience seems to have a positive effect on the

preference for the present job which in a way explains the difference in the response between group 1 (Education + Experience) and group 2 (Education + No Experience) who showed the lowest response amongst the four groups of the sample.

This, indeed, is emphasized by the small differences found between those with education (groups 1 and 2) and those with no education (groups 3 and 4) in their dislike of their present jobs, which indicates that the professional aspirations of educated women with experience or without are above the level of their educational qualifications or the type of jobs available to them in the labour market.

(b): More time and effort by the respondents as a sign of commitment:

To assess the readiness of the groups to attribute some of their own time to carry out responsibilities at work if needed, a statement was proposed to them which said " Jobs should come first even if it means sacrificing time for recreation." Their response showed little sign of willingness to allow some additional time for their work. Only 13.75% of the sample across the four groups were prepared to give their work priority in time with no conditions, while 28.75% agreed they would do so if it were really needed, and 57% rejected the statement.

The lowest response was among group 3 (Experience + No Education). None of them agreed to sacrifice some of their



time and only 15% thought that this might happen occasionally. Group 2 also showed a limited response to the statements in which 10% of them agreed to give their job priority, and 40% thought that they might on occasion. Group 4 was divided: 20% agreed to the statement, 40% rejected it and 40% agreed occasionally. Group 1(Education + Experience) was the only group to show the highest response; 25% of them agreed to the statement. The low response of the sample to the statement can be partly attributed to the dual responsibilities which working women have to perform at work and at home. These women (although working) are expected to take full responsibility for the housework, the children and other social commitments. Saudi Arabian working women have to carry the duty of work and the responsibilities of the traditional role of wives within the family. AlKateeb's (1987: 356-361) study of female employment and family commitment in Saudi Arabia showed that

"most women conceive of their housework as their natural role and thus, even when working in a salaried job, they are quite prepared to continue to perform these tasks."

Thus, even when females join the labour force their work is expected to take second place to their family obligations.

Another question proposed to the groups related to their response when faced with a conflict between work and other family commitments such as a visit to the doctor, relatives' visits, and other social obligations. Most of

the interviewees across the four groups said that they would come to work but leave early. The highest response was among group 4 in which 85% were ready to balance the two. This was followed by group 1 at 55%, then group 2 and group 3 at 50% each. Absenteeism was the response of 25% of group 1 and only 10% of group 4 rejected absenteeism as a way of dealing with family needs.

When the groups were asked if they could stay longer than the usual hours at school if required, e.g. for examination days or informal activities of the school, group 4 again (No Education + No Experience) showed the highest response at 60% followed by group 1 (Education + Experience) at 50%, then group 3 at 35% and the lowest response was from group 2 at 30%.

Thirty-five per cent of group 1, 40% of group 2, 55% of group 3 and 35% of group 4 indicated that they would stay because they ought to meet the administration's expectations. They feared that their annual evaluation report which the school principals write, would be affected which in turn would affect their promotion and grade payment.

(c): How do the respondents cope with the work in their first year?:

As has been illustrated in Chapter Five the sample of women studied in this research are the output of an educational system that does not provide the vocational



training or the professional orientation (apart from teacher training) which can supply these women with the necessary tools to meet the requirements of the workplace. Thus, in order to clarify the way in which these women cope with their work especially in the first year, they were asked to talk of their experiences and difficulties when they first obtained employment. The groups revealed different sets of feelings and difficulties reflecting their level of education and type of job performed. Group 1 (Education + Experience) can be divided in their responses according to the level of education and whether the respondent has a high school certificate or a college degree. As shown in the background features of the sample (Table 17) 55% of this group who had a high school certificate revealed fear, confusion and shyness as their common problems. One of them (Monera, aged 32) stated that she was appointed as a student attendant which requires firmness and sometimes confrontation with students which she found difficult. Hessa, aged 24, talked of her bad experience in her first year as a TV attendant at the women's university centre:

"It was horrible. I came from a very conservative background. I was taught in the General Presidency for Girls' Education's schools and was very shy. At school, we were silent and reserved and hardly spoke to teachers or administrators. When I got this job, I found myself having to stand and observe around fifty university students at once, talk to male teachers who teach female students through closed circuit TV, get the exams from them, hand in results when I have never been in contact with any man in my life."

Amal, aged 30, stated her confusion and anxiety:

"I didn't know anything except cooking and cleaning at home and these written exams at schools. I wasn't allowed to go out or meet socially other than family members because of my conservative background and that is why I felt completely lost when I first came to this job."

Another major problem that faced these women was their difficulty in dealing with other colleagues at work or with the school principal. Most felt that they lacked the necessary confidence to deal with strangers and uncertainty about job requirements, or principals' and colleagues' expectations.

On the other hand, 45% of this first group with university degrees were more articulate in expressing their feelings. They talked of their disturbances and worries in handling students, but were more concerned at the lack of specific training and familiarization with the work environment. However, they were able to manage quicker and some of them experienced no stress.

Group 2 (Education + No Experience) had experienced feelings and problems similar especially to those experienced by the high school graduates of the first group. Most felt uncertain when they first got their jobs. Their work in educational institutions required them to interact with staff and students which they felt unprepared for.

Huda, aged 24 (a student attendant, 2 months on the job):

"when I first came, I felt really frightened and completely alienated from the surroundings. Don't



forget that I had to stay home for two years waiting for a job. In fact, up to now, I still feel uncomfortable dealing with the principal, the staff or even the students."

Not being orientated or trained to handle work matters had its effect as Jwahier, aged 28, who works as a secretary stated

"It is my first time being in a job. Being a student is different. Here you are responsible for your task which is related to others. I was scared and uncertain. I didn't know anybody. I have never been in a workplace. Now, things are better and I am starting to enjoy what I'm doing."

The lack of training and orientation to the workplace affects the respondent's self-image which forces them to avoid being in contact with other staff in order to avoid difficulties or new responsibilities they fear they may not be able to handle.

Nura, aged 28 (a teacher), noted

"At the beginning, I used to deal carelessly with students without taking their psychological and growth aspect into consideration. In fact I used to ask myself what had brought me to teaching in the first place. I was trying to avoid students because I was scared that something might go wrong and I couldn't handle it."

Tarfa, aged 28 (a teacher), solved her uncertainty in dealing with students by an excessive mode of control which she thought would protect her self-image and save her from being hurt or challenged by not being able to handle student disturbance.

She said

"Girls need firmness. If they thought of you as a soft person, you'll never be able to handle or control them afterwards. I really don't know how to deal with them,

especially with all sorts of students coming from different regions and backgrounds."

Monera, aged 26, adds

"I blush when I think of talking to any student. I know that my job as a student attendant requires that, but I can't do it now."

It appears that lack of training and familiarity with the job have created more problems for those newcomers of group 2 who mostly occupied jobs that did not correspond to their educational qualifications or to their interests. This resulted in difficulties in dealing with staff or students and shortcomings in their performances which affected their self-image and damaged their confidence.

On the other hand, group 3 (Experience + No Education) who are different from group 1 and 2 in having no education and performing blue collar jobs, indicated that real financial difficulty had brought them to jobs which they did not approve of nor did they know about its nature or requirements.

Hessa, aged 38, noted

"I got this job to help my husband who is old. When I first came I was really frightened that my family would be ashamed of me working in this job. I have never told them about the nature of my work. They probably know but keep a closed eye because of my needs. They have however stopped visiting me."

Kuzail, aged 42, had to work when she left her husband and has had to care for her three children. She noted

"when I first came to the school, I was shaking. I didn't know what the job was or what I have to do."



Most of this group express great difficulties in their first year at work as a result of not being orientated towards official work or the nature of the job or its requirements. Most had never been in schools and were segregated from public life and were cared for by male guardians. When they were forced to face the outside world, difficulties arose with the new surroundings although things had gradually improved with more years of experience of government employment requirements and job duties.

Group 4 (No Education + No Experience) also expressed similar feelings, fears, and anxiety to those expressed by some respondents in group 3.

Latifa, aged 28, commented:

"When I first came here, three months ago, I was scared and ignorant. I did not know anything. I have never been in schools, never seen a teacher. Now it is better, I always tell the school headmaster, that I'm only an ignorant donkey [?!]. Teach me what you want me to do and I will follow."[!]

Amsha, aged 40, talked of her experience during the job interview:

"when they interviewed me, my teeth were trembling. You see, before I got this job I had never left home. My husband was very strict. I hardly use my abaya. I had never gone out."

This is also stressed by Noura, aged 36, who said:

"when I first came, I felt like a stranger. I did not know anything and other inmates are teaching me what to do. I'm better now but, mind you, my heart still beats when approached by anyone!"

The females' segregation from public life, their

dependence on men and the way they have been orientated to perceive themselves have all worked to reduce their confidence in facing the outside world and in handling their jobs when they first joined the labour force. Females felt uneasy and hesitant in dealing with members outside the family boundaries and were confused and reluctant to take up responsibilities. This affected their feelings of comfort and liking for their jobs, which in turn would affect their commitment.

An overall analysis of the groups' responses indicates that lack of proper vocational training coupled with a restrictive pattern of social life has limited the experience of these females in handling situations and dealing with strangers. This has created the many problems faced by the respondents within their first year. These problems have affected the females' liking for their present jobs and their commitment to them. However, most were able to overcome their major problems after years of experience.

(d): The concept and value of work

The groups were asked to talk of the ways they perceived their work, the value, and the concept and meaning of work in their lives. They were asked if they perceived their work as an essential element in their personal and professional growth and if they identified themselves with their career.



Most respondents in group 1 stressed the fact that work is essential to them either because of their status as single or as divorced women having no family obligations or because they were simply used to working outside the house.

Ebtesam, aged 27, said

"work becomes an essential part of my life which I can't spare. One time I took maternity leave for six months. I felt so isolated and cut off. Work gives me the opportunity to be with others and to know what is happening outside".

Here it seems that joining the labour force helps to replace the limited experience females have resulting from their segregation and their limited share in public life. Work becomes a way of escaping from isolation at home. Thus, issues of valuing work as a productive process or as personal and professional advancement have never arisen.

Hessa, aged 24, comments

"work now is part of my life as a single woman. If I marry and find it hard to cope, I will just leave with no hesitation."

This indicates that although women do join the labour market, their ideological and educational orientation has conditioned them to perceive their motherhood and their role as wives as their prime responsibilities.

Most married women spoke of their troubles in trying to maintain their work and their responsibilities for children and housework. One of them stated that women's desire for work is directly related to their social surroundings, meaning the acceptance or rejection of their work by their

husband. Another talked of her shame at having to come home from work at the same time as her husband and not before him which would have given her a chance to be ready for him.

When the groups were asked about their motivations for work, most of the unmarried women indicated their status as a single women as their cause for work. They emphasize, however, that if they marry they may stop working. Others said that they were used to working with all the arrangements needed. Some just liked going out and meeting others and enjoyed the social aspect of the schools.

Surprisingly, unmarried women within this group were more reluctant to pursue their career if marriage were ever proposed than the married women half of whom indicated that work was essential to them. This reflects the cultural image which single women are exposed to, that portrays the ideal woman as being a wife and mother within the house boundaries.

On the other hand, none of the respondents across the four groups, in their reasons for being employed, emphasized career prospects and advancement to higher positions. This may be understood in the light of two factors:

1. Female educational orientation. Policies and practices of females' educational institutions emphasize the traditional expectations of women. In 1972, the educational policies in regard to female education were published. These



defined the general guidelines that govern women's education. The first major policy in that document stated that:

"The purpose of girls' education is to bring them up in a sound Islamic way so that they can fulfil their duties in life by being successful housekeepers, ideal wives and suitable mothers."

2. The labour market regulations which strengthen the restrictions and limitation on women's employment opportunities. The document quoted above continues:

"..... and to prepare them (women) for what suits their nature such as teaching, nursing and medicine."

This indicates that by law and because of the existing forces, which have been discussed in the previous chapter, the market open for women is limited to certain sectors that correspond to the expected roles of females. This has limited the availability of work for women to the availability of jobs in these few sectors. Moreover, internal promotion within the female market is also highly controlled because high level management of all female sectors is dominated by males. This indicates that progress to higher positions for most working women in these sectors is confined to the jobs they occupy which depresses their professional aspirations.

The second group (Education + No Experience) can also be divided in their responses into two sub-groups. Almost half of this group did not see work as an essential element

in their life, whereas the other half stresses the importance of working outside the home.

For the first half of this group, work meant basically going out and breaking the daily routine. They had waited years to get a job because of the limited opportunities available. Huda, aged 24, comments:

"work is suitable for me at this moment. I'm not married I have nothing else to do. If I get married I will try to balance my duties. If not, my home is first, no question about it."

Tarfa, who is married and aged 28, sees work as "complementary" to her financial expenses. She commented:

"work is not essential. Women could stay home and the husband according to Islamic teaching is responsible for their expenses. But I needed extra money to buy more things so I got this job."

Huda, who is single and aged 24, hated her job because it was not what she wanted and had nothing to do with her education but she was forced into it because no other job was available. She said

"work in general is not important. When I get married I'd rather stay at home. More convenient."

On the other hand, the other half of this group stresses the importance of work either for financial needs or to meet others. A few talked of their work as a way of improving their knowledge and experience. Huda, aged 26, said

"I have to accept this job with its low payment and status regardless of my university degree in economics because I just couldn't stay at home any longer. I wanted to see others and be involved. I have gone to school all my life and suddenly I was locked behind a wall doing nothing. It almost killed me."



Some of them see work as a social gathering taking them out of their isolation. Tarfa, aged 28, comments:

"by my nature, I like to go out very often. Thus, work is important in a sense that it provides me with some change that I need, I meet others and do my job in a social environment."

Monera, aged 27, describes the days when she was waiting for the job at home, not being able to go out:

"Although this job is much lower than what I had originally hoped for, it is still better than nothing. The waiting at home was terrible. I felt down, shallow minded. I stopped thinking. I used to sit in my bed knowing what was going to happen next and when your mind is not occupied with anything worthy, you tend to concentrate on small things. My personal problems started to magnify and I almost had a breakdown. Thank God, work came just at the right time."

Haifa, aged 23, had a similar experience. She said:

"I waited three years. It almost killed me. My days were endless with cold isolation. In here, I feel others are around, my days are busy with something to do and I contribute to the needs of others and I get a little money out of it."

It is important here to note the emotions and the struggle women go through during the unemployment period. Finishing school and not getting a job or getting married means for most females (but not all) almost complete isolation. These women are segregated from public life, banned from driving or travelling without a male guardian, which means taking them out of any social or productive role essential for human survival and well-being. This is why these women felt strongly about their lives and have to accept low paid jobs that did not necessarily correspond to

their education or interest which explains their low attachment and commitment to these jobs.

Nevertheless the reasoning by groups 1 and 2 on employment or the problems they face in their first year or during unemployment, their social needs to mix and be with others were the main reasons other than financial for seeking employment. Apparently, the orientation of the limited role of women and its limited outcome have caused those females to reduce the concept and aim they have of work from being a planned productive process to the level of social needs and personal activities.

On the other hand, for groups 3 and 4 (No Education), the value of work is limited to its ability to accommodate the financial difficulties of their lives. Most are forced to work because of their husband's death or his age, or because of a large number of children. Thus, the value of work for these two groups is reduced to its primary function as a source of finance. Most express their beliefs that work for women is a sham but they had responsibilities which they had to meet. They indicated that if their husbands or families were able to support them, they would not have worked.

Shamsa, aged 30 (group 3), indicated that

"if my husband was alive, I would not lower myself to work. I have five children who need food and medicine."

This is unlike Aljohara, aged 53, from the same group who seems very keen in her work



"unfortunately, I don't have any education, thus no other type of job would be available for me. I have always been active and can't stay home."

None of the respondents expressed a desire for work for its intrinsic value, but merely for financial reasons.

Amsha, aged 40 (group 4), expresses her reasons:

"I worked for purely financial needs. I'm divorced with eight children and one is very sick and needs constant treatment privately. I bought my house through a loan that is burdening me. I certainly would have not worked if I had a husband who was able to care for me and the children.

Moreover, Hessa, aged 50 (originally from the nomads) noted:

"we used to live in the desert, but life got harder on us. We came to the city looking for a place to live and work. My husband got another wife and his wage is very little so that I have to work to support myself and the children. A person who is not in this position would not have worked here."

On the other hand, others express the fact that the policies and regulations of the GPGE had helped them to strengthen their religious and traditional beliefs and practices. Jwahier, aged 55, comments:

"there was a job in the hospital but I refused because I was afraid of having to show my face to strangers or work with men. In fact, I like it here because it is no different from home. We do the same thing at home, cleaning and caring for students and we live with the same tradition (purdah)."

This comment which was also made by other respondents throughout the four groups underlines two major issues: 1. The structure and arrangement of jobs provided by the GPGE and the way the GPGE governs its schools is designed to ensure that its aims and practices correspond to the

existing social structure and ideology. As has been illustrated in Chapter Six women in the GPGE institutions are grouped to work in specific jobs in enclosed places that are administered by males. The nature of the jobs females practise (teaching, working with children and in social services within the schools) are designed to suit what is thought to be the "nature" of women as perceived by the dominant mode of thought in the Saudi Arabian society. This has helped the GPGE as the main provider of women's education, and as the main source of female employment, to enforce its philosophy on women by reproducing the existing social structure with its defence of the traditional expectations of women and to re-orient women to believe and define themselves in such a way in order to keep their education and employment opportunities. Indeed, this corresponds to the segmentation theory explanation that segments of labour (here women) are identified with a set of jobs within the market and are paid differently not because of their marginal productivity but more for political and social reasons.

2. This has long-lasting effects on the job structure provided for women in the market and on the way the educational institutions view their function in relation to the market. Jobs are structured and provided for the educational specialities available in GPGE educational institutions and for those women who have been schooled in these acceptable institutions. The motivation to enhance



their employability through more education or training as advocated by the human capital theory is only possible for female labour under certain conditions and within certain types of schooling and training as defined by the GPGE and other social forces. Any other jobs that do not correspond to the expected roles are out of females' reach, and women who possess any other type of schooling other than that available at the GPGE's schools are not expected to achieve any reasonable employment.

This policy has a negative long-term effect on the use of women as an active labour force and on the economic return on investment in women's education in Saudi Arabia. Jobs in the traditional sector which women have always been expected to pursue have been filled and new graduates are caught in the middle of being educated traditionally in a labour market that has run out of opportunities in the traditional sector.

(e): Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on work commitment:

Here, the study examines how significant are the effects of the two main social attributes of the participants, namely, education and work experience, on work commitment.

1. Are those women with education more committed to their work than those with no education?

2. Are those women with experience at work more committed to their work than those with no experience?
3. Does the interaction between education and experience in the sample have a significant effect on their commitment to work?

As has been outlined in Chapter Two, the study draws three main hypotheses in relation to work commitment.

Hypothesis 1.1: Education has a significant effect on work commitment.

Hypothesis 1.2: Work experience has a significant effect on work commitment.

Hypothesis 1.3: The interaction between education and work experience has a significant effect on work commitment.

By using the analysis of variance (Anova) as shown in Table 18, it was found that education has a significant effect on commitment to work.  $F(\text{degree of Freedom})(1.2) = 4.63$  ( $p < .05$ ). However, work experience was found to have no significant effect on commitment to work.

On testing the effect of the interaction between education and work experience, a significant effect was found.  $F(.2) = 5.36$  ( $p < .02$ ).

These findings indicate that education has a significant effect on the sample's commitment to work, which illustrates the role education plays in the attachment of staff to work in the present study.



However, work experience did not have the same significant effect although the interaction between education on the one hand, and work experience on the other, has a significant effect on the groups' commitment to work. The overall difference between groups on commitment was significant at the level of ( $p < .05$ ).

(f): Means of the four groups on work commitment:

The means, as indicated in section 7.2 of this chapter, have been calculated by summing up the means of each group in each of the six questions in this aspect which have been treated quantitatively and divided by the number of these questions.

The importance of the means is that they represent the position of the groups in relation to the nine work characteristics. The higher the mean, the more positive an attitude the group has in regard to the different characteristics, and the lower the group's mean, the less favourable the attitude they have towards certain aspects.

The data show that group 4 (No Education + No Experience) has the highest mean amongst the four groups (2.35) with standard deviation (S.D.) of (0.45), followed by group 1 (Education + Experience) with a mean of (2.19) and S.D. (0.57), group 3 (Experience + No Education) with a mean of (2.17) and S.D. (0.38), and group 2 (Education + No

Experience) the lowest with a mean of (1.89) and S.D. (0.40).

The high mean found among group 4 who have no education and no experience would throw some ambiguity on the role education plays in determining commitment to work. However, the following explanations may clarify such ambiguity and explain such high means.

As illustrated in Chapter Six, most jobs available to Saudi females do require education and even these jobs are scarce nowadays. Thus, the participants in this group who are in a trial period have to show the highest willingness and adaptation to work conditions and requirements with the effort and time required. This indicates their commitment and meets their employers' expectations which helps them to keep jobs they desperately need. Nevertheless, the low mean of group 2 (the lowest among all the samples) raises a question about the reason for the large differences in the means between groups 2 and 4 although both are newcomers to the jobs.

This can be understood when taking the employment conditions of group 2 into account. The females in this group were low in their commitment to their jobs because they felt they had the right and the qualifications for better jobs. Indeed they were forced to accept their present occupations because no other jobs are available in the female market. Group 4 however have no ambition since



they lack the education necessary for better jobs.

This is supported by the high mean found among group 1 who are second in scoring after group 4 and who have education and are employed in jobs that are relatively rewarding in duties and rates of pay compared to the jobs of group 2.

Group 1, through their responses to the different questions and through their mean, have shown a high commitment which again reinforces the findings of this study that education and the interaction between education and experience have a significant effect on work commitment.

#### 7.2.2: Working co-operatively and acceptance of colleagues' differences:

As illustrated in Chapter Three, literature on work characteristics of the employees indicates the importance employers attach to their employees' ability to adapt and deal co-operatively with other colleagues in the workplace (Hallak and Caillods 1980; Denaniyagla, Dore and Little 1978). The concern of this study regarding this aspect is the ability of female workers to work as a team directing its objectives towards the interests of the organization and not to the success of the individual, and the ability to adapt to other colleagues from different provinces of Saudi Arabia and from other Arab countries. It is also important to study such a notion from a sociological perspective in a

traditional society like Saudi Arabia that places higher importance on the tied relationship of individuals to their relatives and members of their tribe. Strangers and outside cultural effects are avoided. Thus working in public bureaucratic organizations provides females with the opportunity to meet others from different tribes, provinces and Arab countries. Is it difficult for them to adapt? Have their education or their experience of working outside the home or the interaction of both education and experience affected their acceptance of colleagues at work?

Women in particular are important in this regard since they live in a closed circuit as a consequence of their segregation which might affect their ability to work with others.

The sample was, therefore, approached with seven questions regarding these concerns. Data on this aspect are grouped under the following headings:

(a) team work, (b) acceptance of others and working co-operatively in the workplace, (c) testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction in this aspect, (d) means of the four groups. Table 19 illustrates the frequency data and the values of education, work experience and their interaction for the four groups in this aspect.



TABLE 19  
FREQUENCY DATA AND F VALUE OF CO-OPERATION

NO. ITEMS	GROUP 1 NUMBER %	GROUP 2 NUMBER %	GROUP 3 NUMBER %	GROUP 4 NUMBER %
1. I prefer a job where one is part of a group and participates equally in the credit				
Agree	6 30%	6 30%	1 5%	4 20%
Doesn't matter	1 5%	1 5%	5 25%	3 15%
Don't agree	3 15%	- -	- -	3 15%
	10			
	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%
2. I prefer to do the job by myself.				
Agree	13 65%	13 65%	16 80%	14 70%
Don't	7 35%	7 35%	4 20%	6 30%
	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%
3. I usually do not like group assignments because we run into conflict and end up with one person doing the task				
Yes	12 60%	14 70%	14 70%	11 55%
No	8 40%	6 30%	6 30%	9 45%
	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%
4. I find it difficult to work with somebody who is not from my province				
Yes	1 5%	1 5%	12 60%	2 10%
No	19 95%	19 95%	8 40%	18 90%
	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%
5. Working with non Saudi Arabians				
(a) male friendship including social	3 15%	- -	- -	- -
(b) work with them but not mix socially	17 85%	19 95%	20 100%	20 100%
(c) find it difficult to work	- -	1 5%	- -	- -
	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%
6. The school has expanded and you are asked to perform others' duties.				
-accept the new task as part of your job	15 75%	15 75%	13 65%	10 50%
-forced to accept by the principal but you suggest they should hire someone	3 15%	2 10%	4 20%	9 45%
-refuse since you have had enough	2 10%	3 15%	3 15%	1 5%
	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%
7. Some colleagues are on leave for maternity, or sickness. The boss wants to divide their duties among the rest				
- Normal procedure	13 65%	14 70%	11 55%	13 65%
- Do not like it but accept	6 30%	4 20%	9 45%	5 25%
- You wouldn't accept	1 5%	2 10%	- -	2 10%
	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%	20 100%

Level of significance established at .05  
H1. Education: F = 2.82 Not significant  
H2. Work experience F = 0.24: Not significant  
H3. Interaction between education and experience: F = 2.14 Not significant  
Overall differences between the four groups: F = 1.73 Not significant

(a) Team work:

In exploring the way in which female workers respond and manage team work, three questions were proposed to the groups. The first question concerns their preference for working with groups and participating equally in the credit for a good performance.

Unexpectedly, most respondents were opposed to team work. Sixty-five per cent of groups 1, 2 and 4, and 90% of group 3 were all equal in their negative response. A number of reasons were stated for their attitude such as team work causes confusion, that they would be blamed for others' faults if something went wrong. Team work in general is regarded among most participants as a waste of time since workers would just transfer their duties within the group to one another.

To explore their stand more clearly, I offered a statement saying: "I prefer to do the job on my own, so my achievement can be easily recognized by the supervisor." Seventy per cent of all respondents across the four groups agreed on their preference for working individually for a number of reasons other than the one stated in the statement. These include: specification of individual responsibilities, disliking others interfering in their work, doing the job according to individual's time and ability and fear of group rejection or mishandling of work. This view is taken by 65% of groups 1 and 2, 80% of group 3 and 70% of group 4.



Another statement proposed, which emphasizes the previous one, said "I don't like group assignments because they always run into conflict and end up with the task being done by one person only." Altogether 63.7% of all the groups agreed that this was a reason which discouraged them from team work. Others expressed reasons similar to those stated above such as mishandling of work, or being blamed for the group's decisions.

The overall assessment of the group's responses and comments reflect their dislike of group assignments and their preference for working individually. It may be worth stating that the GPGE where these females are working, has a strict disciplinary policy for any mistaken decisions that are taken by female employees in schools. The usual procedure (in addition to deducting a few days of their monthly payment) is to announce the names of those who have made the mistakes which are then distributed to schools around the Kingdom. This is why females shy away from team work since it may involve making a compromised decision to suit all those involved in the team. This also may explain the fact that the decision making process is mainly with males in higher administration, as has been illustrated in Chapter Six.

(b) Acceptance of other colleagues at work:

As has been shown through labour statistics in Chapter Six, in most sectors of the Saudi Arabian economy foreign

labour, both male and female, makes up a large proportion of the labour force. Thus, it is highly important for the workplace that Saudi Arabian workers are able to adapt and accept other colleagues from the different provinces in Saudi Arabia and from other Arab countries.

In this regard, a question was proposed on the difficulty they may face working with people from other provinces or other Arab countries. Most respondents apart from group 3 found no problem or difficulty in working alongside other people from other provinces or countries. Ninety-five per cent of groups 1 and 2 and 90% of group 4 said so. However, group 3 showed some reservation; 60% of them did not like the idea of working with somebody who is not local.

The groups were then approached with another question regarding the limit of their relationship with foreigners. Would they accept them as friends and socialize with them or would they only maintain a relationship in the workplace, or would they find it difficult even to work with those they regard as strangers?.

Ninety-five per cent of the respondents across the four groups said that they keep the relationship to the workplace and would not extend it to the social level. This is 85% of group 1, 95% of group 2 and all respondents in group 3 and 4. Only 15% of group 1 and 5% of group 2 showed a willingness to extend their work relations with Saudi Arabians from other provinces and non-Saudi Arabians to the



level of social activities.

Another question concerned their willingness to undertake additional duties if their place of work expanded and no new employees were available for immediate hiring (if, for example, more students had registered for that year). Sixty-six per cent of the respondents across the group agreed to additional duties; that is 75% of groups 1 and 2, 65% of group 3 and 50% of group 4. Twenty-two per cent of all respondents in all groups indicated that they might be forced to accept even though they did not like it and only 11% of the respondents stated their refusal to undertake any additional duties. Their comments indicate different attitudes towards work.

Rasima, aged 28 (group 1):

"if no other workers are hired, I will have to do the extra work."

Noura, aged 28 (group 1):

"who said that we are consulted in such matters in the first place? They just assign any work they want without taking any account of us."

Jwahier, aged 28 (group 2):

"only if these duties do not affect my original task or family commitment."

Nuiear, aged 55 (group 3):

"we can't say no to government work."

Monera, aged 38 (group 4)

"it is God's will, who would object?"

The groups were also asked about their response to dividing the work of some of their colleagues who are on

leave from work or on maternity or sickness leave among the rest of the workers. Sixty-three per cent of all groups accept such arrangements as the normal procedure for keeping the school running. Thirty per cent express their dislike of any additional duties that are not related to their original ones.

The findings indicate that despite the differences in the educational and working experience of the four groups, they tend to accept additional work when it is required which indicates their willingness to co-operate with other colleagues. However, the group responses contrast with the findings of the preliminary study of this research in which all employers (20) indicated that one of their major difficulties with employees in the different jobs within schools is the employees' refusal to undertake any additional work.

This difference in response between employers and employees can be attributed to many factors. It may be that the respondents wanted to give the researcher a positive view of themselves unlike their actual practice in schools. Alternatively employers' experience with one or two employees may have been generalized. Perhaps employees in fact want to accept and help around schools with additional work, however, they may sometimes fail to see the difference between what they might want to do ideally and what they are capable of doing in practice. They may express their willingness to do the extra job, but when they are faced



with the actual work, a number of difficulties arise such as conflicts with management, taking extra jobs home which may interfere with family duties, or may be, as one of them put it,

"I would like to do anything they ask for, it is just that I would be identified as a hot line helper who would be approached every time they need somebody for any extra work."

The other 11% who express their refusal of any extra work mentioned the scarcity of any incentives to encourage them to be co-operative.

(c) Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on working co-operatively and acceptance of others:

Hypothesis 2.1: Education has a significant effect on working co-operatively and acceptance of others' differences.

Hypothesis 2.2: Work experience has a significant effect on working co-operatively and acceptance of others' differences.

Hypothesis 2.3: Interaction between education and work experience has a significant effect on working co-operatively and acceptance of others.

The analysis shows that none of these variables have significant effects on this aspect. Neither education, nor experience nor their interaction were found to be significant in affecting the group's co-operation with other colleagues at work. Moreover, the difference between the

group's responses regarding this aspect was also insignificant. This implies that for these groups and within the limitations of the present study, neither education nor work experience nor their interaction have any significant effect on the sample's attitudes towards colleagues at work or towards others from different provinces and countries.

(d) Means of the four groups on co-operation:

The data show that the highest mean was found among the first group (Education + Experience) with a mean of (1.96) and S.D. (0.29), followed by group 2 (Education + No Experience) with a mean of (1.90) and S.D. of (0.33), then the fourth group with a mean of (1.88) and S.D. of (0.29) and last was the third group with a mean of (1.75) and S.D. of (0.25).

An overall assessment of these means indicated that group 1 followed by group 2 (both have education) were higher in their means than groups 3 and 4 with no education. This indicates that groups 1 and 2 were more able to adapt to other colleagues and co-operate with them at work than groups 3 and 4 with no education although the test of significance showed that these differences were found to be insignificant.

7.2.3: Change orientation:

This is the third aspect of the nine work characteristics studied in this research. The orientation



of employees to adapt to changes introduced to the workplace is considered important in modern times. Developing countries in particular, including Saudi Arabia, are trying to adapt to new technology and new working knowledge and procedures in order to achieve their developmental goals. This requires employees, including female workers, to have the ability to accept new experience or changes introduced into the workplace or into life around them through information technology.

In this respect the study is trying to explore the four groups' understanding of change and their ability to deal with new ideas and ways of doing the work. The study takes into consideration the cultural conservative background of the participants and the effects of their segregation which may have made them more reserved in perceiving new things. Nevertheless, the study examines the role of their educational orientation which may have affected these women workers by making them more open and ready to accept changes brought to their work or broadly to their social life as women.

Their experiences outside the home as working women may open up their life and enrich them with diversifying experiences. The data on change orientation are grouped under the following titles: (a) accepting changes in the workplace, (b) accepting changes at the personal level and social level, (c) testing of the effect of education,

experience and their interaction in change orientation, (d) means of the groups in change orientation. Table 20 presents the frequency data and the values of education, experience and their interaction for the four groups on change orientation.

TABLE 20  
FREQUENCY DATA AND F VALUES OF CHANGE ORIENTATION

NO. ITEMS	GROUP 1		GROUP 2		GROUP 3		GROUP 4	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
1. I like things in my work to stay exactly the same.	Yes							
	No							
2. I like things to change in the way my work is done, bringing new ideas and working methods	Yes							
	No							
3. On the job, introducing new machines or ways of doing things will just cause a lot of confusion	Yes							
	No							
4. With new things, I usually like to wait until I see how it has worked out for other people	Yes							
	Sometimes							
	No							
5. I'm generally one of the first people to try something new	Yes							
	Sometimes							
	No							
6. People who question the old and accepted ways of doing things usually just end up causing trouble	Yes							
	No							

Level of significance established at .05  
H1. Education: F = 93.37 Significant at (p<0.0001)  
H2. Work experience: F = 3.93 Significant at (p<0.05)  
H3. Interaction between education and experience: F = 4.97 Significant at (p<0.05)  
Overall differences between the four groups: Significant at (p<0.0001)



(a) Change orientation at the workplace:

The first question aimed to explore the nature of the work of the groups. Is it the type of work that runs by routine or is it an exciting and challenging job?

Ninety per cent of groups 1 and 2 and all the respondents in groups 3 and 4 found themselves in jobs that run by routine with no changes or challenges. The second question proposed to the groups was about their preference for implementing some changes to their present jobs such as new ideas in doing things or whether they would prefer it to stay as it is.

Sixty-seven per cent of all the sample across the groups preferred their work to remain as it was with no changes. The highest in this response was among group 3 (Experience + No Education) and group 4 (No Education + No Experience) in which all respondents (100%) expressed their discomfort with any changes to be introduced to their jobs which they might not be able to handle.

On the other hand, 75% of group 1 (Education + Experience) and 40% of group 2 (Education + No Experience) expressed their desire for their work to change and new methods and ideas to be implemented in their daily routine at work.

This was followed by a question on the consequences of introducing changes to the workplace such as new curricula or style of administration or a new method of teaching and

the possibility of misunderstanding the new ideas or methods or the inability to handle them by the employees. Seventy-five per cent of group 1 did not agree with the statement. On the contrary, they expressed their view that changes at work were a vital element of job advancement. The second group, however, agreed with the statement and respondents were afraid that changes at work might cause conflict and problems that they might not be able to handle.

Groups 3 and 4 also feared the changes brought to their work and expressed their preference for a quiet and unchangeable job.

This attitude within groups 2, 3 and 4 of opposing changes at work is important for policy makers in schools and higher administration. It should be taken into account that educational innovation which may be introduced has to be discussed with the staff at schools, who must be trained for such innovations. Havelock and Huberman (1977) (quoted in Hurst 1983: 51) identify some of the problems faced by some developing countries in implementing innovations for which lack of consensus among those involved, including those in educational organizations, was one major difficulty experienced.

(b): Change orientation at the personal level:

Exploring the meaning of change as a concept and as a value that is adapted at the intellectual level by the participants may reveal their appreciation of change and



innovation which is essential for their personal and professional development.

Furthermore, studying the concept, the understanding and the practices of changes and innovation are also important from a sociological perspective in a country like Saudi Arabia. In the last twenty years Saudi Arabia, and women in particular, have been exposed to changes in their roles and status: within the family, within the labour market and within society in general. How are women coping with such a changing world?

The groups were first approached with a statement stating that "with new things, I usually like to wait until I see how it has worked out for other people." All respondents across the four groups agreed to such statements with no variation. Different reasons were stated such as not having the courage to try new things. Others feared their family's rejection or being blamed, especially by fathers and husbands.

The second statement proposed to the groups says: "I'm generally one of the first people to try out something new."

All respondents across the four groups rejected the statement.

The third statement regarding change says:

"people who question the old and accepted ways of doing things usually just end up causing trouble."

Eighty-five per cent of group 1 and all respondents in all

the other three groups agreed.

The participants' comments over the above statements showed their willingness to accept changes at the official level (at work) but not to their personal life or to the social structure. Ebtesam, aged 28 (group 1), said:

"Society has its values and customs which are vital and should not be changed no matter what happens."

Maha, aged 33, sounds more practical:

"expressing one's beliefs which may be different from society's system of values could bring about opposition and problems, especially if one is married."

Reama, aged 30, sees changes in a different way:

"I like innovation to be introduced in my school, I like new fashion in clothes and furniture, but when it comes to society's value system I feel it is impossible. So we'd better accept everything and shut up."

When asked about some changes that could be introduced to improve their life as women such as allowing women to drive, only two respondents from group 1 saw this as a great help. All other respondents across the groups rejected it.

Hessa, aged 32 (group 1):

"driving a car by a woman would bring chaos to the street, men would be attracted to women drivers because women are sexually attractive."

Aziza, aged 27 (group 2), said:

"driving is wrong, and having a stranger to drive (chauffeur) is also wrong. The guardian (the husband, father or brother) should drive women to and from work."

I asked her if this is possible in her daily life. She replied:



"It should be. Why do they accept that the women should work in the first place? If men cannot provide their women with the necessary time to take them in and out of work, they should not allow them to work."

Monera, aged 26, emphasizes this:

"driving is a man's job. Women are not suitable for driving because of all the problems associated with it."

On the other hand, Noura aged 28 (group 2), is afraid of change:

"I may like to change my class, to teach another class but I'm fearful of introducing anything new. I'm faint hearted about anything that others would say about me. I agree to whatever others decide without questioning."

Groups 3 and 4 (No Education) are far more reserved on the issue of change. They express their reservations to most changes at the social level.

Haia, aged 48 (group 3), comments:

"I'm from the old generation, I wouldn't expect anything to change. My daughter is getting married, she is only fifteen, hasn't seen her husband and she shall not until the wedding night."

Tarfa, aged 39:

"I'm fearful of going anywhere even to the local market. I have to have somebody with me to help me in choosing things."

Latifa, aged 28 (group 4):

"I like my work here because I just do exactly what I do at home, cleaning and dusting. If it was different it would be difficult for me to grasp."

Fatima, aged 38 (group 4), indicated her limited social circle which prevents her from acquiring new experiences and ideas. She said:

"I don't go anywhere except to school. I'm scared to use a taxi going to school. Our neighbour takes me to school and I ask him to use only one route that I know and he never changes it."

Those comments clearly indicate that most of the respondents of the sample, although they might accept changes brought to their working places, would strongly reject any changes or modification to the present social structure or to the value system of society especially in regard to their status as women. It is striking to see the contradictions between the responses of the sample to any possible changes brought to their lives as women which they rejected, and what has been illustrated in Chapters Five and Six on the inequality and the huge discrepancy between men and women at all levels of the educational system, the limited working opportunities available to them in the labour market and the major difficulties facing females in their daily life (e.g. transportation), all of which have been identified as a major problem hindering women in present Saudi Arabian society.

There are both methodological and sociological explanations for such contradictions:

(a) Methodological: because of the restrictive political and religious atmosphere in Saudi Arabia today, there is a feeling of conspiracy and reservedness in society. People tend not to talk freely and openly about their



beliefs or point of view with regard to political or social issues. And although the purpose of this study was clearly stated to all participants, suspicion may arise and in one incident, the researcher was asked to leave the school by some interviewees (from group 3) who thought of her as one of the secret police. This atmosphere may affect the response of participants to such a sensitive issue as women.

(b) The sociological explanation can be attributed to two major factors: (i) women's social and religious orientation has misled them in regard to their nature and rights in life and forced them to accept the limitations placed on them as the normal way of living, and (ii) education, which as has been discussed in Chapter Five, is headed by a religious committee whose philosophy and practices act as a mediator which passes on and sustains female religious orientation. Within this philosophy, education is mainly seen not so much as a way of improving oneself or providing guidance for adapting to changes brought to society particularly with the oil boom in the seventies and early eighties. Rather, schools through their philosophy, curricula, daily practices, the hierarchical system of power and control (the construction of school buildings with their emphasis on complete segregation of females from the outside world and with women (including staff and students) safely kept inside the schools, the prohibition of physical training which is

seen as unsuitable for women's nature, emphasis on cooking and sewing as the proper school activities for girls), are all major factors that keep female schools acting as traditional institutions that disorient women about their nature and force them to submit to external power, discourage their critical thinking about the existing social structure and prepare them for their expected roles as wives and mothers as stated by the general philosophy of the female educational system.

Thus, the reservations of the sample to change, especially at the personal level, seem to correspond to the orientation of the present educational system but this in turn contrasts with the need of the workplace in which workers are expected to be able to adapt to changes at the practical and intellectual level, accept other differences, have initiative and take an independent decisions.

However, the sample through groups 1 and 2 (both with education) indicated their positive attitude towards changes that are brought to their schools in terms of new machines, new ways of teaching which are introduced by higher administration and not by individuals in schools who were opposed to changes introduced to their personal and social life as much as were groups 3 and 4 (with no education) who were opposed to all types of changes including those introduced to the workplace.



(c) Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on change orientation

Hypothesis 3.1: Education has a significant effect on change orientation.

Hypothesis 3.2: Work experience has a significant effect on change orientation.

Hypothesis 3.3: Interaction between education and work experience has a significant effect on change orientation.

The object of these hypotheses is to examine whether education, experience at work, or the interaction of those two variables have any significant effect on the sample's acceptance and adaptation to changes brought to their workplace.

By applying the analysis of variance to the data collected, and as shown in Table 20, it was found that education has a very significant effect on change orientation.  $F(1,2)=93.37$  ( $p<0.0001$ ) which indicates that ability to accept changes brought to the workplace through new machines or methods of administration or instructions would probably be more readily accepted by those with more education than those with less education.

It was also found that work experience has a significant effect on change orientation  $F(1,2)=3.93$  ( $p<0.05$ ). This means that both education and work experience affect significantly the individual perception of change

brought to the workplace although education is more effective in this sense than work experience.

On the other hand, the interaction of both education and work experience has also a significant effect on change orientation  $F(1.2)=4.97$  ( $p<0.05$ ) and the overall differences between groups is also found to be very significant at ( $p<0.0001$ ).

These results are commensurate with the attitude of the four groups in which groups 1 and 2 (with Education) were more perceptive of changes brought to their jobs than groups 3 and 4 (with No Education). However, caution has to be exercised when interpreting this analysis. This is because the significance of the variables (education, experience, interaction) on this aspect is due mainly to the high score which groups 1 and 2 (with Education) received on their responses regarding changes brought to the workplace. This is compared with the low score of groups 3 and 4 who show a negative attitude toward any kind of change. Nevertheless, this significance cannot be extended to other aspects of the respondents' lives in which both groups, with education and without, have shown a strong resistance to change at the social and personal level.

(d): Means of the four groups on change orientation:

As indicated with the previous aspects analysed earlier, the significance of the means lies in that it



indicates the highest score among the four groups in response to the question in each aspect. The data show that group 1 (Education + Experience) has the highest mean of all the four groups, mean (1.41) S.D. (0.21), followed by group 2 (Education + No Experience) with a mean of (1.27) (S.D. 0.19), followed by group 4 (No Education + No Experience) mean (1.02) S.D. (0.06), and group 3 (Experience + No Education) mean (1.01) S.D. (0.05) with a very minor difference between groups 3 and 4.

#### 7.2.4: Educational and Technical Skills Valuation:

The importance of this characteristic can be seen through the professional performance of these working women. Two of the four groups' participants are the output of an educational system that lacks the vocational training or the work orientation (apart from teacher training) which they need to enhance their professional practices in schools. These women have been transferred to the world of work lacking the necessary working tools they desperately need to perform their duties. How do these two groups value their educational and technical skills acquired through their schooling, experience or in-service training? How do the participants' experiences at work affect their skills and working characteristics? Do these workers appreciate any additional educational and vocational training that work

might offer them? How do they see themselves, and what are their criteria and their evaluation of a satisfactory working characteristic needed at the workplace?

Because of the nature of this aspect (educational and technical skills), none of the questions on this aspect relating to education and in-service training which treated statistically were applicable to groups 3 and 4 (with No Education) who perform jobs that do not require special skills or training. Thus, the testing of the significance of education, experience and their interaction was not possible among all four groups.

The data for these working characteristics are grouped under the following titles: (a) employees' evaluation of their vocational and working characteristics, (b) willingness for more in-service training, (c) the effect of their experience at work on their vocational and working characteristics, (d) working characteristics most needed at work as seen by the sample, and (e) educational and technical skills valuation.

Table 21 presents the frequency data regarding this aspect for groups 1 and 2.



TABLE 21  
FREQUENCY DATA AND F VALUE ON EDUCATIONAL AND SKILLS VALUATION

NO. ITEMS		GROUP 1		GROUP 2	
		NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
1. In advancing my ability to do the work, I need extra training	Yes	14	70%	12	60
	No	6	30%	8	40%
		20	100%	20	100%
2. My present experience is enough with no more training	Yes	14	70%	10	50%
	No	6	30%	10	50%
		20	100%	20	100%
3. I would be happy to be attended by trainees from other training institutions	Yes	13	65%	8	40%
	No	7	35%	12	60
		20	100%	20	100%
4. Attend a training course after work for two weeks	(a) Happy to accept	7	35%	6	30%
	(b) The husband/family would not agree	3	15%	4	20%
	(c) Accept, only with additional payment	-	-	1	5%
	(d) Would not accept	10	50%	9	45%
		20	100%	20	100%

Significance: Not tested

(a) Employees' evaluation of their vocational and working characteristics:

The participants in groups 1 and 2 were asked to evaluate their professional experience and their ability to handle work. Most expressed their vocational needs although teachers within the two groups were more confident in their professional standards. Nevertheless, most felt the need for

more training and orientation with the workplace to enhance their confidence, self-presentation and their ability to handle extra responsibilities.

This finding indicates that the respondents in these groups recognize the need for training at the two levels (vocational and social working attributes) which their education, as they evaluate it, did not help them to acquire.

When the two groups were approached with a statement saying "to advance my ability to do my work, I need extra training at the vocational and social working level" 70% of group 1 and 60% of group 2 agreed to this statement (65% of the respondents in the two groups), which indicates the fact that workers are themselves aware of the gap in their education as they have stated earlier. This corresponds to the findings of the preliminary study for this research which revealed the employees' need for more training at the vocational and social characteristics level.

Aziza, aged 27 (group 2), describes the situation:

"everyone of us comes here fresh and knows nothing; what I need is confidence in myself to make me feel a secure and outgoing person."

Other respondents feel this need for other colleagues at work. Mona, aged 30 (group 1):

"I feel that some of my colleagues in school need training to get them going. Sometimes, I just don't believe how someone who has been appointed as a student attendant, couldn't talk in confidence to students."

These comments can be related to the respondents'



descriptions of their first year's experience at work and the kind of difficulties they faced (group 1) or are still facing (group 2) with staff and students, which can be attributed to the needs of the respondents for more vocational training and orientation with the work.

(b): Willingness for more in-service training:

When the respondents were asked if they were satisfied with their present knowledge and experience on the job and required no more training, 60% of groups 1 and 2, 70% of group 1 and 50% of group 2 felt that their present experience was enough. This can be justified for group 1 with a long working experience. Nevertheless, 50% of group 2 who are newly appointed felt satisfied with their present knowledge and experience to handle the job which raises the question about the source of their confidence.

This can be explained in the light of the comments they express. Most indicated that they had been appointed to unchallenging jobs with limited responsibilities that, as one of them put it, "any elementary graduate could perform". Most felt angry having wasted their years in college and ended up doing jobs they did not like and needed no special training for.

In testing the respondents' confidence in their performance, they were asked if they would allow other trainees from other institutions such as teacher training

colleges or the Institute of Public Administration to observe them at work.

Only 65% of group 1 and 40% of group 2 were confident enough to allow others to be present in their classes or offices. Thirty-five per cent of group 1 and 60% of group 2 felt uneasy about such practices because of their limited experience. When they were then asked if they were willing to attend a training course for two or three weeks after work to advance their knowledge and ability, only 32% of all respondents in groups 1 and 2 showed readiness, that is 35% of group 1 and 30% of group 2.

The rest of the two groups displayed different reasons for their refusal. Forty-seven per cent emphasized their inability to work in the morning, do the house-work at noon and attend a course in the evening. Family obligations and the problem of transportation arose as major factors preventing the acceptance of any more in-service training. 17.5% indicated that although they themselves would like to accept such training, their guardians (husbands, fathers and brothers) would not allow them to even for a short period of time.

It is surprising to find that only a third of the educated respondents were willing to use the opportunities that their work offered them as a means of improving their professional studies, of the rest of the respondents 65% were not able to accept such training because of external



factors such as family obligations or their guardian's refusal. This can have a real lasting impact on the in-service training programmes that are carried out by the GPGE and the quality and professional studies of staff working in the educational institutions.

On the other hand, the participants' refusal can also be related to the limited internal and external promotion opportunities available to females in the labour market (as illustrated in Chapter Six) that might otherwise have inspired women to improve their skills and knowledge in the job to acquire more advancement.

(c): The effect of experience at work on the sample's vocational and working characteristics:

The four groups were asked to talk about their experience at work in terms of the changes they felt had happened to them through working outside the home. Had they felt more confident in themselves, in their relationship with other colleagues or in the way other family members viewed them as working women? Had their experiences at work sharpened up their professional skills and their abilities to handle work matters?

The respondents revealed very strong feelings and rich insights into the lives of working women within the cultural fabric of Saudi Arabian society today. Group 1's (Education + Experience) responses can be seen in relation to the type of schooling possessed by each participant. Those with high

school certificates in particular, have benefited from their experiences at work especially in regard to their working characteristics. Most were shy and reserved in their first year, did not speak much with staff, were unsure of themselves and were confused and scared of standing in front of and handling students.

With years of experience, they became more confident, stronger, able to talk and deal with other staff as colleagues. Noura, who has been working for the last 10 years, said:

"when I came here, all I knew was cooking, cleaning, reading and writing. I was very shy and unsure of myself. Now I'm very different in trusting myself when dealing with work matters or handling students. Even the way I dress and have my hair cut has changed."

On the other hand, those with university certificates revealed different sets of feelings and changes. They felt more mature, more able to express themselves precisely. Some felt the change in their value of work as being a medium that fulfilled their free time with a commitment that they enjoyed.

In addition, some felt the strength and the respect of their surroundings through being a working women. This gave them strength and confidence and helped their leadership qualities to develop.

Group 2 (Education + No Experience) indicated that their limited experience on the job affects their feelings



and ability to handle work which some of them still have difficulties in mastering. However, some felt that getting the job itself had changed the way they viewed themselves and the way other family members viewed them.

Monera, who had been in this work for the last four years, said:

"my brother who has been working for a long time and never talked to me about work started discussing work problems with me, giving me advice on how to act and what to do."

Jwahier, aged 25, sees the strength which her financial independence has brought to her life. She comments:

"having my money in my hand and deciding which way to spend it made me feel more mature and in control of myself, unlike before when I used to ask for money from my husband for specific purposes which he had to agree to."

Taken seriously by other family members was the experience of Monera who noticed:

"I felt independent of my husband. The way he views me has changed as if I have grown up suddenly. Now he takes what I say into consideration, listens more carefully to my arguments in a way that he has never done before. The feeling of ability to do things is wonderful. Before I worked if my husband refused something, I had to obey. Now I can do the things I want to do. Buy what I like and arrange my house the way I want."

It is interesting to listen to the purity and richness of these feelings among women who are experiencing their independence for the first time, the strength their financial ability, now they are working, has given them in managing their daily needs. However, the feelings and

changes they felt and the strengths they are experiencing are still within the boundaries of their traditional and limited expectations such as their ability to buy and consume things but not to question values and practices and act independently.

Group 3 (Experience + No Education), as illustrated in Table 17, are mainly middle aged women who are over 30 and represent the traditional illiterate women who are forced by their financial needs to work outside their homes.

Although they held a conservative view of life and society, these women have changed through working outside the house. Shamsa, aged 30, said:

"Before I became a working woman I used to feel tired and bored, but since I got this job I feel active and I'm meeting others every day."

Kuzail, aged 42, revealed the personal changes that happened to her through working:

"I felt stronger. Work had helped me to deal with strangers. Now I know that rules are rules and they have to be respected. Morning attendance means a specific time that you have to submit to, otherwise I lose the day's payment."

Noura, aged 45, feels her independence in saying:

"women who work are not like those who don't. I mean in terms of taking decisions within the family, spending money when you most need it. I wish my daughters' husbands would let them work just the way I do, they would be better off instead of asking me for money all the time and I cannot say no to them."

Hessa, aged 45, has not experienced any difference to herself or her feelings through work:



"This job is not different from what I do at home. They ask me to clean, I do, I just follow orders."

On the other hand, respondent No. 12 sees her responsibility at work:

"Here it is different from home where you could do things whenever you want. Here you are responsible for a specific duty to be carried out at a specific time."

Monera, aged 40, sees another side of her work experience:

"work is more fun than being at home with children screaming and loads of washing and cleaning. Here it is much easier!"

Amsha, aged 50, felt that work had made her more aware of her religious duties, by mixing with the staff at her school who are exceptionally religious and who run lectures and distribute religious books among staff and students:

"when I was living in the South of the Kingdom (in Asir) we, all women, used not to care much about men. Our work was equal to theirs. We went to the fields and cultivated the lands just like them. Men couldn't claim any extra privileges over us. But when I came here, teachers taught me the right of men in Islam as being over women and that men are preferred by God over women. They have the right to marry another and I should not object. In fact, I helped my husband using my salary to marry another woman!"

This respondent in fact, is indicating what female schools today are doing to their staff and students through the religious role played by teachers. These teachers are the graduates of the GPGE educational colleges which are known for their restrictive Islamic approach especially in regard to women's rights and duties which they teach their female students. The teachers' schooling and the learning they offer to their students are not directed

towards improving the status of women in society or reducing the inequality and disparity existing among men and women. On the contrary, teachers themselves, because of their illusions and the educational orientation which they have received in GPGE colleges, are working as agents to propagate this disorientation which is producing and reproducing the existing social and economic structure and the hierarchical power and relationship between men and women.

Group 4 on the other hand (No Education + No Experience) are the newcomers who represent the traditional isolated woman in a traditional surrounding. Joining the labour force has changed their lives and the way they view themselves. Tarfa, aged 31, sees the difference her financial ability has brought her:

"Here, I feel more comfortable than being at home, work here helps to pass the time and think over one's problems. I meet others and listen to their stories and I don't feel alone. My job also provides me with money that I desperately need and it is my own. I don't have to ask anybody for it."

Noura, aged 48, stresses her independence:

"Here time passes by. When I was at home I always used to think of my children and their father who left me for another woman. I used to argue with him every time he came over the children's needs. Now I don't give him much attention. If he comes with his hands full of things for his children we accept it, otherwise I try to manage with my salary."

Amsha, aged 40, revealed more basic changes to her self-concept and the way she viewed herself and saw the



outside world since joining the labour force:

"I felt that work had opened my eyes to the world outside. I feel responsible. Now I know which month we are in. Dates and days have become meaningful. I hold a personal card with my name on it. I always thought foreigners are the only ones to carry an I.D. card. Now, I take my children to hospital, do the shopping which I have never done before. Divorce and work have changed my life."

Another respondent sees the difference in the way she feels towards her children and the way family members view her productive role as a working women. Tarfa, aged 40, says

"Since I have worked I have become nicer to my children. They are no longer under my feet all day. Now I finish work and run to meet them and my husband has changed too. He respects me more. Now when I come home, he will call the children (just as he usually does when a visitor comes) 'girls bring coffee for your mum'. I laugh inside me when he says that I used to serve him when he came from work and not have a rest or coffee."

Jhaier, aged 35, sees the role education plays in a person's life after working in a school herself:

"My family didn't get me to school but I'm determined to get my children. Since I have got here I realise how important school is. I want my daughter to be a principal."

Changes to daily practices and social surroundings could also be observed with this group. Fatima, aged 38, comments

"I love work, here it is much easier than at home. I don't have to cook and clean or wash as much. My life has become more organised. We don't visit relatives during the weekdays anymore and we don't expect to be visited except at the weekends."

An overall assessment of the four groups' responses indicates that working outside the home has helped most

females to know themselves and their abilities. Females are exercising their independence through their work, especially at the financial level, which helps to develop their self-confidence and decision-making ability and that is important in the workplace.

(d): Working characteristics most needed at work as seen by the sample:

Twelve working characteristics which are recognized by the relevant literature as important in the workplace were presented to all four groups of the study sample who were asked to reorganize them according to their importance to them. Number 1 would be the first choice as the most important characteristic at work and 12 would be their least important.

This list of the twelve working characteristics was followed by a space which could be used by the respondents to add any other working attributes that they thought important which were not included in the list.

The twelve characteristics presented to the sample were as follows:

- obedience to supervisor
- intelligence
- doing neither more nor less than is required
- being ambitious to improve one's position
- knowing how to work with others



- knowing how to avoid trouble
- personal appearance
- being able to adapt to work conditions
- respect for rules
- having a sense of responsibility
- experience on the job
- punctuality.

The conduct of this part of the interview among the respondents from groups 3 and 4 was problematic as has been outlined in the methodology chapter since they were not able to read or write. Nevertheless, through visual and listening aids, this part was completed.

The reorganization of these attributes by the respondents revealed that respondents were reflecting the type of job they perform in their choice of the most important characteristics.

(e): The four most important qualities at work as seen by the groups:

Groups 1 and 2 (both with education) who perform jobs such as teaching, student supervision and secretarial work which involved certain responsibilities and decision making, chose as the most important characteristic required of employees at work "Having a sense of responsibility" (30% of group 1 and 25% of group 2).

Groups 3 and 4 (with no education) who perform jobs such as house keeping and as cleaners and school helpers,

indicated strict obedience as top priority (50% of group 3 and 60% of group 4).

As indicated, these choices reflect the type of tasks required of each group including white and blue collar workers. This corresponds to the findings of other studies on the most needed qualities at work such as Hallack and Caillods's study (1980: 16) which indicated that with every job category studied, employers associate a profile in terms of attitudes which corresponds to the employees' position within the organization.

The second most important characteristic for group 1 was "respect for rules" which was the first choice of 15% of the respondents where "intelligence" was the first choice for 20% of group 2. The second choice for groups 3 and 4 was "being able to adapt to work conditions".

The third most important choice for group 1 was "working with others" 15%, for group 2 "experience on the job" 15%, and for groups 3 and 4 "working with others" 20%. Through their choice, most participants in the different groups emphasized the importance of "being able to work with others" which indicates its value and weight. This corresponds with the finding of other studies in which relations with peers and supervisors was considered one of the most important criteria at work (Deraniyalga, Dore and Little 1987: 71-72; Hallak and Caillods 1980; Utter in Thomas 1956).

Table 22 represents the four choices of each group.



TABLE 22

THE FOUR FIRST WORKING CHARACTERISTICS MOST NEEDED AT WORK AS SEEN BY THE FOUR GROUPS

GROUPS	WORKING CHARACTERISTICS AS A FIRST CHOICE	% OF THE GROUPS
First Group	Having a sense of responsibility Respect for rules Knowing how to work with others Punctuality Intelligence	30% 15% 15% 10% 10%
Second Group	Having a sense of responsibility Intelligence Experience on the job Punctuality Avoid trouble	25% 20% 15% 10% 10%
Third Group	Obedience to supervisor Being able to adapt to work conditions Knowing how to work with others Intelligence	50% 25% 20% 5%
Fourth Group	Obedience to supervisor Being able to adapt to work conditions Knowing how to work with others	60% 25% 15%

(f): The means of groups 1 and 2 on educational and technical skills valuation:

As indicated in the first section of analysing data related to this aspect, groups 3 and 4 were excluded from some questions which were not applicable to them. Thus, the test of significance was not possible nor their means. However, the means of groups 1 and 2 (both with education) revealed only marginal differences between the two. Group 1

with a mean of 1.7 and S.D. (0.38) and group 2 1.73 with S.D. (0.59) indicate that the response of these two groups on the question in this aspect were averaged. This means they did not score high which might have indicated their positive attitudes in valuing their educational and technical skills nor did they score low which might have indicated their negative attitude.

#### 7.2.5: Educational and Occupational Aspiration:

Success and advancement on the job are determined to a large extent by the willingness and driving ambition of the individuals whose educational and occupational aspirations would enable them to acquire more advancement through more education and training.

The object of studying this aspect is to explore females' educational and occupational aspirations, and the role of their education in preparation for work and the way they view their career and occupational advancement and their conflicting roles within the family and at work and the importance they attach to their careers compared with males. Data relating to this aspect are organized as follows: (a) the role of education in preparation for work, (b) educational aspiration, (c) occupational aspiration, (d) testing for the effect of education, experience and their interaction, and (e) the means of the groups.



Table 23 presents the frequency data and the values of education, work experience and their interaction for this aspect.

TABLE 23  
FREQUENCY DATA AND F VALUES ON EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION

O. ITEMS		GROUP 1 NUMBER	%	GROUP 2 NUMBER	%	GROUP 3 NUMBER	%	GROUP 4 NUMBER	%
. I would like to continue my education	Yes	15	75%	12	60%	10	50 %	7	35%
	No	5	25%	8	40%	10	50%	13	65%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
. Promotion is: (a) an indication of professional advancement (b) the social aspect being important and respected (c) less of the actual work better to supervise instead of being supervised		13	65%	13	65%	-	-*	-	-*
		6	30%	4	20%	-	-	-	-
		1	5%	3	15%	-	-	-	-
		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		20	100%	20	100%				
. In comparing the importance of work for men and women - equally important - for women before marriage & children - more important for men in all cases		6	30%	1	5%	-	-	1	5%
		2	10%	2	10%	2	10%	1	5%
		12	60%	17	85%	18	90%	18	90%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%

Not applicable. Treated as a missing value

vel of significance established at .05

- Education: F = 146.63 Significant at (p<0.0001)
- Work Experience: F = 3.66 Significant at (p<0.05)
- Interaction between education and experience: F = 1.62 Not significant
- er all differences: F = 50.64 Significant at (p<0.0001)

(a): The role of education in the preparation for work:

In order to investigate the role education plays in the sample's preparation for work, groups 1 and 2 were asked if they felt that their education had helped them in meeting their professional duties at work.

Those with a high school certificate from group 1 were highly critical of their education. They talked of their education being general with no specific training, no link with their present work which did not help to familiarize them with the work environment. At school, they were always told to be silent and reserved. Hessa, aged 29:

"when I first got the job, I had great difficulty, I was shy and unable to talk. I came from the high school where we were asked as obedient students to be silent, not to speak with anybody who has authority over us. Our relation with the teachers was very official and suddenly when I came to the job in the school I was asked to deal with the staff who remind me of my old teachers, deal with them and have a chat. It was extremely difficult."

Their criticisms explain the difficulties they faced in their first years in service. Having a general education with no specific training, the strict atmosphere and lack of any vocational training or counselling or transition period from school to work, contributed to the difficulties these women faced at work and with the staff.

Those with university certificates were more positive in their views of their education especially those who had studied according to the termly system at King Saud University. These women felt the benefit from having



organized their courses and been responsible for their own schedules without close observation and authority and this was reflected in their work when they moved to working life. These women have learned to organize their time at work, follow tasks through and make decisions when needed.

However, they criticized their education for its generality with no specific training for what was needed at the workplace. Teachers on the other hand, felt that studying in teacher's training colleges helped them to face their responsibilities at work although most were concerned about their confusion over how to handle and control students which they were taught was a measure of their ability and authority. One of them mentioned that they were "over ruled" and "over controlled" at the training college and that their personalities had not been given the opportunity to develop. Another stressed the fact that what they learned in college did not relate to what was expected at schools, mainly finishing the curriculum and syllabuses before the school year ended which put so much stress on them. These teachers were not concerned with issues such as students' learning difficulties, measuring achievement, developing students' intellectual and critical abilities. This brings into question the scope of their education in relation to their professional needs.

Group 2 (Education + No Experience), mostly stated that their education had no link with their present jobs which

they had been forced to accept because of the scarcity of jobs in the market. Eighty-five per cent of this group are graduates of the Administration Science College with special subjects such as Economics, Accounting, Public Administration which do not correspond to the traditional labour market that is open for women. Thus, they were forced to accept jobs with low rates of pay and limited in responsibilities.

The rest of this group were high school graduates with another two years training at the Institute of Public Administration (IPA). They indicated the benefit of their training which taught them some secretarial and administrative skills which are badly needed at schools. This helped them to cope and improve the quality of the service they offered.

(b): Educational aspiration:

In taking into account how the groups were critical of their education, the concern here was to see if they still wanted more education. Surprisingly their responses display a strong ambition in acquiring further education. (75% of group 1, 60% of group 2, 50% of group 3 and 35% of group 4.)

It seems that the more education and experience the respondents have the more they desire further education to improve their knowledge and skills. Nevertheless, most were unable to meet their ambitions for a number of reasons: (a) family obligations, (b) low grades in high school or at college which do not qualify them for continuing their



education, and (c) policies at work which prevent them from acquiring any further education as long as they are working.

Another question proposed to them relates to recruitment criteria and whether qualifications and ability are taken into account or whether other measures may be involved such as favouritism of relatives and friends.

Their comments revealed the fact that, in recent years and with the scarcity of jobs, the practice of favouritism to relatives has increased dramatically. Merits, qualifications and interest in work are no longer the key elements of hiring, but rather connections within the government organisations.

This corresponds to the preliminary study's findings in which employers revealed a similar pattern of practice when asked about their organizations's criteria over hiring. Indeed nepotism has been identified as one of the main problems facing bureaucratic organisations (Al-Awaj 1971: 232), and as a major obstacle to administrative reform in Saudi Arabia today (Al-Rowaf 1989: 202).

(c): Occupational aspiration:

To uncover the occupational aspiration of the groups, respondents were first asked about the job which a person with their educational qualifications and their experience would hope for.

Surprisingly, 70% of group 1, 80% of group 2, 75% of group 3 and 80% of group 4 named jobs which were different from their present ones.

Further, the type of jobs wished for by some respondents in group 1 were jobs that were not related to their schooling or to the conventional line of employment expected of them and would require mixing with men, and travelling, such as working in international agencies, journalism, and in private companies.

Group 2, on the other hand, who are the latest output of the educational institutions tended to think of jobs that were more in the female line of employment, e.g. working in day care centres, doctors, nutritionists. The difference between group 1 and 2 in the type of job proposed may be attributed to the recent conservative attitudes in Islamic teachings and the way they view women which the GPGE is putting forward in schools for females.

Groups 3 and 4 were more hopeless about acquiring any other job. Almost all of them indicated the fact that having no qualification had put them in their present job and that no other job was available to them. Amsha, aged 50, described her situation:

"I know nothing except cultivating the land and animal husbandry, this work is much easier with a much better salary."

Daleal, aged 35 (group 4), summed up:

"I don't know how to read or write, I know nothing and the only job available is this degrading work but I have to take it."

In order to see the respondents' perception of themselves and their understanding of advancement and



career, groups 1 and 2 were approached with a question that was not applicable to groups 3 and 4. They were asked about promotion: whether would they see it as an indication of professional advancement or appreciate the social aspect of being important and respected for holding a higher position, whether promotion would involve less actual work although more decision making or whether it would give them the feeling of being able to administer and supervise others instead of being supervised.

Sixty-five per cent of the two groups indicated that promotion was a sign of advancement and appreciation of them by the higher administration and only a few admitted the fact that it would mean less work. (Five per cent of the first and 15% of the second group.) Nevertheless, the implication of promotion as a sign of success and importance was indicated by both groups, 30% of group 1 and 20% of group 2 appreciated the importance of their career advancement at the social level.

In an attempt to explore the degree to which women see the importance and essentialness of their work compared to men a question was proposed to the four groups regarding their equal rights to work/whether work for women would be acceptable before marriage and children and that work for men is more important in all cases.

Surprisingly, results show that 81% of the respondents across the groups see men's work as the most important in

all cases. (Sixty per cent of group 1, 85% of group 2 and 90% of groups 3 and 4), and only 3% of group 1 and group 2 thought of women's work as being equal to men's.

Their remarks during the discussion were rather striking and were religiously orientated. They centred around the idea that men are the "guardians" and are religiously responsible for the good-will of the family including women whose work is incidental, unessential and could be overlooked for the Koran says

"men are guardians of women by God's preference and by the money they spend on women" ("Women sura", verse 34)

Rema, aged 30 (group 1), remarked:

"men by religion are the guardians over women whose main duties in life are caring for their husband and his children. Women should acquire permission from their guardians before going out to work to avoid problems."

Monera, aged 26 (group 2), says:  
"religiously and socially, women are entitled to the financial support of men. So if a man agrees to her working she might, otherwise she better not."

Tarfa, from group 2, stresses the difference in nature as she sees it between men and women:

"God has created men for working outside in order to fulfil their role as males unlike women whose main role is inside the home."

Hessa, aged 28 (group 2), added

"men have a responsibility towards women and children unlike women. I can't imagine a man sitting at home, when it is very natural for women not to work."

The other two groups 3 and 4 (No Education) responded to the argument of women's work in a similar pattern. Nura, aged



40 (group 3):

"of course, men's work is far more important in all cases, men are our masters and our guardians."

Hessa, aged 50 (group 3), whose husband works as a caretaker in the same school where she works says:

"although my work is harder than his in terms of duties, his work is still more important than mine. We always talk to our friends about his work and the troubles he faces. We have never mentioned mine. He is my guardian."

Amsha, aged 40 (group 4):

"no question about it, men's work is more important. They have the prime responsibility of the family. Have you seen a man staying at home when his woman works?"

On the other hand, those few respondents who thought of their work as equally important as men came up with some interesting remarks.

Monera (group 4):

"it doesn't matter who is working as long as there is a regular and steady income."

Nura, aged 28 (group 4), stated:

"men are strange. My husband comes home from work, screaming in everybody's face that he is tired and doesn't want to be disturbed. When I come home from work I have to cook, clean and care for my children without any complaints."

It is rather surprising to see that female workers across the four groups with their distinctive educational and experience background have no major differences in the way they view themselves and their work compared to males. Indeed, 85% of group 2 who are the latest output of the present educational system view men's work as more important compared to theirs and think that home is the prime

responsibility of women in life.

Obviously, the role education plays in a changing society like Saudi Arabia raises serious concerns. In the last thirty years, Saudi Arabia has experienced a fundamental change in its economic structure which education has not been able to facilitate. This failure is because of schooling that prepares females for jobs that no longer need an ideology which values women and their economic role as secondary when foreign labour makes up more than a third of the employment sector.

Indeed, the role of female education must be viewed in a larger context along with other aspects of the social structure. Specifically, the role of education in the ideological and cultural production and reproduction, or as Apple (1982) states :

"The real issue is not what education alone does, but how it is related to class, race and gender and the control of production and distribution of economic and cultural power."

Within the female sector, education has maintained through its ideology and practices the hierarchical social and political relationships existing in society. Males are seen to dominate females because of their "superior nature" as portrayed by religious orientation which in turn dominates the educational system. Gender relations, and the division and segregation of labour are advocated and institutionalised through the different educational



institutions that produce and reproduce such graduates. This is why the respondents of this study who are the graduates of the GPGE and are working in its institutions view themselves and their work as less important than men. Females' educational and occupational aspirations have been suppressed by the existing ideology and by the structure of the market open to them which limits their occupational aspirations and groups them as a segment of the labour force who are employed and rewarded differently from any other segment of the market not because of their individual choices or merits so much as for political and religious factors.

(d): Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on educational and occupational aspiration:

Hypothesis 5.1: Education has a significant effect on women's educational and occupational aspirations.

Hypothesis 5.2: Work experience has a significant effect on women's educational and occupational aspirations.

Hypothesis 5.3: Interaction between education and work experience has a significant effect on women's education and occupational aspirations.

By applying the analysis of variance, it was found that

education has a very significant effect on women's educational and occupational aspirations  $F(1.2) = 146.63$  ( $p < 0.0001$ ) which indicates that the more education females in this sample have, the more education and occupational advancement they would desire.

Experience was also found to be significant in affecting aspirations.  $F(1.2) = 3.66$  ( $p < 0.05$ ). However, no significant effect was found for the interaction of education and work experience on women's educational and occupational aspirations.

The overall differences between groups in respect to this aspect is significant at 0.0001 which indicates that education and work experience significantly affect the four groups' responses to this aspect.

(e): Means of the four groups on educational and occupational aspiration:

The means of each group are as follows with the mean of the group 1 (2.35) S.D.(0.245), group 2 (2.10) S.D.(0.36), group 3 mean (1.3) S.D.(0.29), and group 4 (1.25) S.D.(0.30).

7.2.6: Responsibility

As has been discussed in Chapter Three, studies indicated the importance of responsibility and initiative in all types of jobs ranging from supervisory to secretarial. However, many characteristics of job situations can affect



a person's perception of responsibility. Some types of job or position within an organisation carry more responsibility than others. Hackman and Oldham (in Steers and Porter 1979: 323) indicated that persons in high positions tend to be more committed to their jobs and that employees in autonomous positions generally have more favourable attitudes towards work than those with little freedom to decide how to do their jobs. The participants of the four groups in this study are females who have been employed by an organization that tends to be autocratic, as has been outlined in Chapter Six. Are those with education more perceptive of their responsibilities than those with no education? Has women's experience at work affected their abilities to carry and handle work responsibility? And how do they initiate suggestions and solutions at work? These are the issues discussed in this section. Data are grouped under the following headings: (a) responsibility towards work, (b) readiness for more responsibilities, (c) testing of the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on responsibility and initiative, (d) the means of the four groups in responsibility. Table 24 presents the frequency data and the values of education, work experience and their interaction for the four groups in this aspect.

TABLE 24  
FREQUENCY DATA AND F VALUE ON RESPONSIBILITY

NO. ITEMS	GROUP 1		GROUP 2		GROUP 3		GROUP 4		
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	
1. I often talk to my direct boss concerning my ideas about work	Yes	14	70%	-	-	8	40%	2	10%
	Sometimes	2	10%	2	10%	4	20%	8	40%
	No	4	20%	18	90%	8	40%	10	50%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
2. I have talked/written to some of my employers in the higher administration about some issues or problems at work and suggested ways in which things can be improved.	Yes	4	20%	-	-	-	-	-	-
	No	16	80%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
3. I feel I have much influence on the way things go at work	Yes	4	20%	1	5%	-	-	-	-
	Sometimes	1	5%	5	25%	-	-	-	-
	No	15	75%	14	70%	20	100%	20	100%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
4. Usually, the boss gives me extra responsibilities to perform	Yes	10	50%	5	25%	6	30%	-	-
	No	10	50%	15	75%	14	70%	20	100%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
5. In an important occasion at work, the principal was absent. Would you	- present yourself to the	10	50%	3	15%	-*	-	-*	-
	administration and offer your help	3	15%	1	5%	-	-	-	-
	- offer your help, only if asked	4	20%	12	60%	-	-	-	-
	- perform your duties as planned only	3	15%	4	20%	-	-	-	-
	- not worry since it is not your responsibility	20	100%	20	100%				
6. In the place you work, there must be workers who at times do not do their share. What would you do?	- Tell them it is not appropriate and affects the outcome of the school	8	40%	1	5%	1	5%	-	-
	- It is the boss's responsibility	7	35%	4	20%	4	20%	-	-
	- Do not care	5	25%	15	75%	15	75%	20	100%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%

\* Not applicable to group 3 and 4. Treated as missing values.

Significance established at: 0.05

1. Education: F = 37.62 Significant at (p<0.0001)

2. Work experience: F = 31.39 Significant at (p<0.0001)

3. The interaction of education and experience: F = 8.01 Significant at (p<0.01)

Overall differences: F = 25.67 Significant at (p<0.0001)



(a): Responsibility towards work:

To explore the respondents' ability to initiate ideas, solutions and suggestions regarding their work, they were approached with a statement which was intended to uncover their initiative and ability to communicate their ideas to their bosses:

"I often talked to my direct boss (supervisor, principal) concerning my ideas about work."

Seventy per cent of group 1 and 40% of group 3 indicated their regular communication with their bosses, but none of group 2, and only 10% of group 4 indicated this.

Work experience here seems to work as a determining element in which employees with long years of experience at work (groups 1 and 3) have more communication with their bosses and are able to initiate their ideas in regard to work matters than those with less experience (groups 2 and 4).

When asked about the possibility of writing to the higher administration or to their boss concerning their ideas at work and suggesting ways of improving work productivity, management, curricula, etc. only 20% of group 1 had done so but none of the other three groups had. The experience of group 1 and the type of jobs they perform help them compared to other groups to initiate their ideas and take a responsible stand in work matters. Nevertheless, their percentage of 20% is still low and represents only 5%

of the whole sample. The rest of group 1 and other respondents in the other groups showed through their comments a complete apathy and felt that their personal views were not worthwhile and carried no weight compared to those of the higher administration's policy makers in the GPGE or the male administration in King Saud University.

Their comments reflect the ways in which they have been oriented to view and deal with public government organizations. They reflect the role these organizations play in their working lives and the limitation on their role (as workers) in this relation. Such comments as "I have nothing to do with them", "I just do what I have been told" or "complaints should be directed to God only; you can't do anything about it", "I don't like to interfere in anything, I'm just a civil servant at their disposal", "whether I like it or not, I have no choice - I'm under their command", and many others recorded in the interviews can be linked to two factors: (a) the limited working opportunities available to females in the labour market which affect their ability and strength to carry responsibilities and stand the consequences. The respondents avoid initiative and responsibilities or as they call it "interference" which could lead to mistaken decisions that would cost them their jobs which they cannot replace. (b) the GPGE as a public government organisation in its relation to its workers reflects a hierarchical authoritarian mode of control.



Workers are expected to submit to power and implement orders according to the employers' decisions. Workers themselves have no power as a group of workers. Unions are banned as well as any other occupational organizations (e.g. teachers' unions, professional clubs) that defend workers' rights and press their viewpoint to government organizations. Thus, this authoritarian relationship which exists between employees and their organizations has developed the feeling of worthlessness among workers about contributing to the job through their own initiatives and ideas compared to the powerful organization where they work and this may explain why 95% of the sample have never communicated with the higher administration about improving their work.

(b): Readiness for more responsibilities at work:

To explore the degree in which the respondents exercise their responsibility and have autonomy over their work matters, the following statement was proposed to them "I feel I have much influence on the way things go at work". Only 20% of group 1 and 5% of group 2 which represents only 6% of the whole sample agreed with the statement. The negative response of groups 3 and 4, however, holds little significance in regard to the role they play in their schools since their jobs depend mainly on specific orders given to them with no decision making. Nevertheless, the small percentage of the first two groups emphasizes the

argument proposed in the previous section on the authoritarian relationship between female employees and the GPGE.

In addition, respondents were asked if their bosses tend to offer them more responsibilities for their ability and readiness. 50% of group 1, 25% of group 2 and 30% of group 3 tended to be prepared for extra responsibilities at work. Nevertheless, 50% of group 1, 75% of group 2, 70% of group 3 and none of group 4 had experienced direct responsibility.

In order to examine their readiness for handling situations, a statement was presented to groups 1 and 2 (not applicable to the type of duties performed by groups 3 and 4) in which it was assumed that on an important occasion at school such as examinations day or the first day at school, the principal or her deputy was absent and the school was left with no director and with only the middle level staff, clerical staff or the secretary. Groups were asked: what would teachers, student attendants and other staff working in the school do? Would the worker present herself and offer help? or would she wait until she is asked or would she perform her usual job and not worry about the school since it is not her direct responsibility?

Fifty per cent of group 1, and 15% of group 2 indicated their willingness to offer their help. 15% of group 1 and 5% of group 2 would do so only if they were asked, and 20% of group 1 and 60% of group 2 would perform their usual



duties without worrying about what is happening to the school.

The long experience of group 1 seems to have given them the confidence in handling such matters and standing up for new responsibilities, unlike group 2 who are newly employed and have shown reluctance in presenting themselves to other staff members to offer their help.

The groups were then approached with a question regarding their views and action over the performance of other colleagues. What would they do if they were faced with a careless colleague who would not do her duties which eventually affected their jobs and the performance of the whole school?

Only 12% of the respondents across the four groups were willing to talk openly to their fellow workers in order to clarify their view of the negative effects of their carelessness. 18.7% thought that it was the bosses' responsibility, and 68.7% said that they would not care as long as they did their part of the job. An overall assessment of the participants' responses indicated that the structural and administrative modes of their organizations affect their ability and readiness to carry responsibilities at work in a negative way. Nevertheless, those participants with more education and more experience were positive in their responses and were more able to initiate solutions and propose ideas than those with less education and less experience.

(c) Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on responsibility:

Hypothesis 6.1: Education has a significant effect on responsibility.

Hypothesis 6.2: Work experience has a significant effect on responsibility.

Hypothesis 6.3: The interaction of education and work experience has a significant effect on responsibility.

The analysis shows that the effect of education on responsibility is very significant  $F(1,2) = 37.62$  ( $p < 0.0001$ ) which indicates that education affects workers' feelings of responsibility and that the more education the respondent in this study has, the more likely she is to feel responsible and committed to meeting responsibilities at work. Nevertheless, education itself determines to a large extent the type of jobs and the workers positions within the organization. Employees with education are more likely to hold jobs that exercise responsibilities and the less education the worker has, the more likely he or she would be to be grouped in jobs that depend mainly on orders which are given by supervisors. This may be more evident in a developing country like Saudi Arabia where female education started only 28 years ago and where employment criteria within the government emphasize the importance of educational qualifications in most jobs available to females, as has been illustrated in Chapter Six.



On the other hand, the analysis has revealed that work experience has a very significant effect on responsibility  $F(1.2) = 31.39$  ( $p < 0.0001$ ) which implies that, in this study, the more experienced the workers are, the more positive attitude they hold towards handling responsibilities at work. The analysis of variance also revealed that the interaction between education and experience has a significant effect on responsibility.  $F(1.2) = 8.01$  ( $p < 0.01$ ) which indicates that education, along with experience at work, affects workers' readiness and attitudes towards handling work responsibilities.

The overall difference among the groups in respect to this aspect is also very significant  $F(1.2) 25.67$  ( $p < 0.0001$ ) which again emphasises the above findings of differences found among those with education and experience and those with none or little in regard to responsibility.

(d): Means of the groups on responsibility:

Data regarding the means of the four groups in this aspect indicate that group 1 has the highest means (1.96) S.D. (0.47), group 2 shows a mean of (1.35) S.D. (0.25), group 3 (1.32) S.D. (0.25), and group 4 shows a mean of (1.12) S.D. (0.13).

#### 7.2.7: Decision Making:

Much of the current discussion of women's status in Saudi Arabia has critically illustrated their subordinate role within the social fabric which has been enforced and institutionalised by existing social and political factors (AlKateeb 1987; Almana 1981; Morgan 1982). How far does this subordination and women's limited mobility and access affect their ability to make decisions in their private and working lives? Are the types of job they hold in the four groups with their different educational backgrounds and experience giving them the confidence and the autonomy to make decisions and to feel directly responsible towards their activity in the workplace? Has their education or their experience bridged the gap between their subordinate role in society and the needs of the workplace which require the ability to handle matters, take decisions and adapt to the introduction of changes. These are the concerns investigated in relation to decision making. Data in this aspect are grouped as follows:

(a) autonomy at work, (b) decision making at the private level, (c) testing of the effect of education, and (d) the means of the four groups in decision making. Table 25 represents the frequency data and the values of education, work experience and their interaction for the four groups in this aspect.



TABLE 25  
FREQUENCY DATA AND F VALUE ON DECISION MAKING

NO. ITEMS	GROUP 1 NUMBER	%	GROUP 2 NUMBER	%	GROUP 3 NUMBER	%	GROUP 4 NUMBER	%
1. I feel that I have the power to make decisions about things that have true importance to my work	1	5%	3	15%	-	-	-	-
Yes	19	95%	17	85%	20	100%	20	100%
No	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
2. The kind of job I would most prefer would be								
- a job where I have to make decisions myself	6	30%	2	10%	-*	-	-*	-
- a job where I have to make a few unimportant decisions by myself	14	70%	18	90%	-	-	-	-
	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
3. When I am in a group:								
I prefer to make decisions by myself	6	30%	2	10%	6	30%	2	10%
I prefer to have others make decisions	14	70%	18	90%	14	70%	18	90%
	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
4. My family raised me on making most decisions related to my affairs								
Yes	6	30%	1	5%	4	20%	2	20%
Sometimes	6	30%	5	25%	4	20%	1	5%
No	8	40%	14	70%	12	60%	17	85%
	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%

\* Not applicable. Treated as missing values.

Level of significance established at .05

H1. Education: F = 1.04 Not significant

H2. Work experience: F = 7.67 Significant at (p<0.0071)

H3. Interaction between education and experience: F = 0.04 Not significant

Overall differences: F = 2.92 Significant at (0.0395)

(a): Autonomy at work:

To explore the degree of control which the respondents have over their work, they were approached with a statement regarding their power within their work: "I feel that I have the power to make decisions about things that have true importance to my work."

Ninety-five per cent of group 1, 85% of group 2 and 100% of groups 3 and 4 responded negatively to the statement. Most felt no control or power over work matters. Their comments indicate the absolute centralization of administration within the schools where decisions regarding curricula, grades, work loads, hiring and payment are usually taken by the GPGE and are distributed among the schools. Tarfa, aged 28 (group 2), remarks:

"everything comes from the GPGE by paper or telephone order. Whether we agree or not, every member of the staff is pledged to sign an approval form which is kept in the school record."

To probe their ability and self-trust in making decisions, the respondents were asked about the type of work they would prefer. Would it be work in which the respondents are able to make decisions by themselves or, would they rather prefer a job with a few unimportant decisions to be made?

This question was proposed to groups 1 and 2 (both with education) who hold jobs and would be qualified for jobs that may involve decision making, unlike groups 3 and 4 (with no education), who hold jobs or would be qualified for the type of jobs which would not involve decision making.

Their response showed that 70% of group 1 and 90% of group 2 would prefer jobs that would not involve decision making and they preferred that major decision be taken by others. Only 30% of group 1 and 10% of group 2 show



readiness for jobs that involve decision making processes.

It may be that experience at work has furnished more respondents in group 1 (30%) with the necessary tools in respect to this aspect compared to group 2 (10%). Nevertheless, the percentage of those who show readiness to hold jobs which involve decision making is still limited. This may be attributed to two factors: (a) that centralization of administration of the GPGE and the power relationship between female employees and the organization which has been discussed with relation to the aspect of responsibility has prevented females from exercising the decision making process which affects their ability and damages their self image; (b) the traditional expectations of women which permeate their educational orientation emphasize the image of females who take orders but do not share in creating them.

(b): Decision making at the private level:

Because decision making is a process that is developed throughout the individual's life and is affected by upbringing, the groups were asked about the way their family raised them in relation to decision making.

Were they allowed to make decisions relating to their personal life? Or were decisions taken by other family members such as their father or their husband?

Their responses indicated that only 16% of all the sample in the four groups were raised in families that

allowed them some space to make or participate in decisions relating to their lives. Twenty per cent were allowed occasionally, and 57% were and are still prevented from making any personal decisions and are controlled by others in their families regardless of their age or their social status. Their remarks reflect a pattern of life controlled by power of other people (father/husband). Noura, aged 24 (group 2), pointed out:

"I have never taken any major decisions in my life. Before marriage my father took the lead, after, my husband took over and he decided mostly everything relating to me or to the children."

Huda, aged 27 (group 1):

"very minor decisions? Yes. Major matters? No, my family does."

On the other hand, those who indicated that they have a share of the decision making in the family do so because of their status such as being divorced with children, having taken charge after their father's death, or the oldest among siblings.

Moreover, the groups were approached with a statement regarding their action with groups which reflect their assertiveness and self confidence.

"When I am in a group, I prefer to make my decisions" or "when I'm in a group I prefer to have others make them". Only 20% of the sample across the four groups reflected their self-confidence to make decisions within the groups. That is 30% of group 1, 10% of group 2, 30% of group 3 and



10% of group 4. This indicates that those respondents with more experience (groups 1 and 3 30% each) are likely to participate more actively in decision making when in a group than those with less experience. The participants of groups 1 and 3 are also older than those in groups 2 and 4 as illustrated in Table 17, which means they have gained more experience.

An overall assessment of the groups indicates that although those with more experience (groups 1 and 3) show more readiness for decision making than those with less experience (groups 2 and 4), the ability to make a decision at work is greatly affected not so much by the education and the experience of the participants as much as by the nature of the organization where they work. The autocratic methods and the centralization of the higher administration and the way they view women's ability at work has contributed negatively to the exercise of decisions by females. It is also affected by the status of females in a society where their private lives are controlled by other members of the family - which also affects their self-confidence.

(c): Testing for the effect of education, work experience and their interaction on decision making:

Hypothesis 7.1: Education has a significant effect on decision making.

Hypothesis 7.2: Work experience has a significant effect on decision making.

Hypothesis 7.3: The interaction of education and work experience has a significant effect on decision making.

The analysis of variance was applied to test the significance of the effect of the sample's education and work experience on this work aspect. It was found that education was not a significant factor in affecting the sample's decision making although work experience was found to be significant. Thus experience on the job has a significant effect on decision making,  $DF (1,2) = 7.67$  ( $p < 0.01$ ).

However, no significant effect was found of the interaction between education and work experience.

These findings indicate that the more experience the respondent has, the more likely she is to participate actively in decision making at work. Education and its interaction with experience have no significant effect in regard to decision making. However, the overall differences among the four groups was found to be significant at ( $p < 0.05$ ).

(d): Means of the four groups on decision making:

As explained in section 7.2 of this chapter, the means are calculated by summing up the means of the groups in the questions they answered for each character divided by the number of these questions. In regard to the means of the groups in decision making, the mean of groups 1 and 2 was divided by 4 (the number of questions they answered), groups



3 and 4 by 3 (the number of questions they answered) as illustrated in (a) of this section.

Data indicate that those with longer experience on the job (groups 1 and 3) have higher means because of their more positive responses to the different items proposed to them in this aspect of work compared to those with less experience (groups 2 and 4).

#### 7.2.8: Time Valuation:

Females working in educational institutions follow a timetable that runs from 7-1:30 or 8-2:30. Females are not expected to leave during working hours except in emergencies. How do they see this arrangement (e.g. teachers who may have free hours during their working day)? How do they manage their time and organize it to fit their duties in the workplace?

Time valuation is also vital for female workers since driving is prohibited and public transportation is not accessible. Thus, women are left to the good-will of their families to get them in and out of work. Does this inconvenience affect women's regularity and job attendance? Does it affect their understanding and ability to control and organize their time at work?

These are the issues discussed with the different groups in regard to time valuation. Data are grouped under the following headings: (a) participants' understanding of

time at work, (b) use of time at work, (c) test for the main effect of education, work experience and their innovation, and (d) the means of the groups in time valuation.

Table 26 presents the frequency data and the values of education, work experience and their interaction on this aspect.

TABLE 26  
FREQUENCY DATA AND F VALUES ON TIME VALUATION

NO. ITEMS	GROUP 1		GROUP 2		GROUP 3		GROUP 4		
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	
1. A place of work should be run with a precise time schedule	Yes	9	45%	12	60%	13	65%	15	75%
	No	11	55%	8	40%	7	35%	5	25%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
2. We should be less concerned about the time in the workplace	Yes	7	35%	10	50%	9	45%	5	25%
	No	13	65%	10	50%	11	55%	15	75%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
3. I would like to leave work whenever I finish my task and not according to specific time	Yes	11	55%	9	45%	12	60%	12	60%
	No	9	45%	11	55%	8	40%	8	40%
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
4. I like to have a chat with my fellow workers when there is no work and the supervisor is not around	Yes	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
	No	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
		20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%

Level of significance established at .05  
H1. Education: F = 0.27 Not significant  
H2. Work Experience: F = 0.47 Not significant  
H3. Interaction between education and experience: F = 0.12 Not significant  
Overall difference: F = 0.29 Not significant



(a): Participants' understanding of time at work:

To explore the groups' understanding and valuing of time and work, a statement was proposed to them saying "A place of work should be run with a precise time schedule". Forty-five per cent of group 1, 60% of group 3 and 75% of group 4 agreed. That is, 61% of all the sample across the four groups.

Group 1 in their responses to the statement was less concerned about the precise use of time at work than other participants of other groups, although it has the education and the long experience at work. Their reasoning is that what counts is not so much the amount of time or regular morning attendance as the way in which time is used at work. Hessa, aged 32, and who works as a student attendant comments:

"I come to work according to available transportation which depends on my husband's mode. Before, I used to come with other lady workers where we all participated in hiring a cab. My husband did not like that because he doesn't like me to use any other man's car. Now I can't decide what time I come to work. Thank God, my supervisor understands."

This comment reflects the major difficulties facing working women. Time is wasted and difficult to be put to a precise schedule because women have no control over their time.

"We should be less concerned about the time in the workplace."

Forty-five per cent of group 1, 50% of group 2 , 45% of

group 3 and 25% of group 4 agreed to the statement which represents the sample across the four groups while the rest of the four groups (61%) did not agree to the statement and stressed the importance of an efficient use of time at work. The groups' responses illustrate that a large number of each group did not have a favourable attitude toward valuing time at work and that is a trend through the four groups regardless of their educational background or work experience.

The groups were then proposed a question regarding their preference over leaving work once they had finished their tasks and not according to the school schedule. Fifty-five per cent of all groups agreed and indicated in their comments that responsibilities at school are defined according to a specific schedule which means there is no need for them to be at school when they have performed their tasks.

However 45% did not agree with the suggestion. They justified their disagreement in two reasons: (a) that sudden responsibility may occur (absence of a teacher) which requires a temporary arrangement that workers must be present at all times; (b) that the situation of Saudi Arabian women does not allow for such a privilege, thus underlining the limited mobility of females who have to be brought and taken from school by others.

(b): Use of time in the workplace:

To explore the ways in which respondents use their time



at work, the following statement was proposed:

"I like to have a chat with my fellow workers when I have the time and the supervisor is not around."

All respondents across the different groups agreed and stressed the social aspect of work. Mona, aged 30 (group 1), pointed out that:

"the actual work time is very limited. Every time I pass by the secretaries' room, I find them talking and drinking tea."

Another respondent Salwa, aged 26 (group 2), emphasizes this fact by saying:

"even if I want to be precise and make an efficient use of my time, others would not let me. They will come to my desk or to the room where I work, and talk and drink tea."

Groups 3 and 4 (housekeepers and cleaners) have no precise tasks that have to be completed in a specific time. Their main responsibilities are delivering and circulating papers among the school's staff or making teas. The actual cleaning of government departments is usually carried out by private companies. Thus, these workers have plenty of time to spend talking, eating and drinking tea.

The socialization aspect of work by females is a fact that is emphasized by most respondents especially when they talked about their concept of work which has been illustrated in the commitment aspect. Females whose access to other aspects of social life is difficult use the job for socializing. Thus, an overlap tends to exist between their social needs and work duties which eventually affects the amount of work done during working hours.

An overall assessment of the data presented in relation to time valuation indicates that education and work experience make no difference in the responses of the four groups to the different questions and statements in this aspect.

The concept and the use of time as perceived by the respondents are affected to a great deal by the respondents' status as Saudi Arabian women. The ban on driving affects their access and ability to use their time precisely. Segregation affects the use of time at work which is used to make up for the absence of their social and public lives.

(c): Testing for the effects of education, work experience and their interaction on time valuation:

Hypothesis 8.1: Education has a significant effect on time valuation.

Hypothesis 8.2: Work experience has a significant effect on time valuation.

Hypothesis 8.3: The interaction of education and work experience has a significant effect on time valuation.

On testing the previous hypotheses against the scores of the four groups, no significant effect of education (hypothesis 8.1) or work experience (hypothesis 8.2) or the interaction of both (hypothesis 8.3) was found. The overall differences between groups on this aspect was also found to



be insignificant.

These results suggest that education and work experience or their interaction have no significant effect on the way the groups valued and handled their time at work. Although groups are different in their qualifications, in the amount of time spent working and in the type of jobs they perform, there are no real differences in the ways they view or use their time. This contrasts with the findings in Inkeles and Smith's study (1974) in which educated workers tend to use their time more efficiently than non-educated workers.

A number of external factors which have been outlined in the discussions of the data in section 6 might have contributed to the ways the groups understand and use time in the workplace. The social arrangements of the private and working lives of the female participants in this study (the ban on driving, segregation) have affected above all other factors their efficient and effective use of time, their attendance and their productivity at work.

(d): Means of the four groups on time valuation:

By calculating the means of the four groups, it was revealed that group 1's mean was (1.38) S.D. (0.32), group 2 (1.41) S.D. (0.32), group 3 (1.40) S.D. (0.33), group 4 (1.47) S.D. (0.30). The difference between the groups in their means is small although group 2 has the lowest mean of all the four groups.

This can be explained by the fact that the participants of this group were forced into low paid jobs that were not commensurate with their educational qualifications or their professional aspirations. Thus, using time efficiently at work may not be their first priority.

#### 7.2.9: Planning:

Planning is an important characteristic for achieving a job's goals achievement. In schools, teachers and other staff members are expected to set up plans in respect of their tasks throughout the academic year. How do the participants plan their tasks at work? Would their religious and cultural orientation (which emphasizes God's will against the reality handled and controlled by individuals) affect their concepts of planning at work and in their private lives? These are the issues discussed with the groups in this section. Data relating to planning are grouped under the following headings: (a) planning at work, (b) planning at the private level, (c) test for the effects of education, work experience and their interaction on planning, and (d) the means of the four groups. Table 27 presents the frequency data and the values of education, work experience and their interaction on planning.



TABLE 27  
FREQUENCY DATA AND F VALUES OF PLANNING

NO. ITEMS	GROUP 1		GROUP 2		GROUP 3		GROUP 4	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
1. At work: - I plan and arrange things in advance - I only plan things that could be inspected by my supervisor - I plan things as they come up without bothering much about thinking ahead	2	10%	1	5%	-	-	-	-
	6	30%	8	40%	-	-	-	-
	12	60%	11	55%	20	100%	20	100%
	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%
2. People are different in planning their affairs. How do you describe yourself: - plan ahead carefully in most matters - plan ahead only on a few of the most important matters - let things come without worrying too much ahead	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	9	45%	8	40%	-	-	-	-
	11	55%	12	60%	20	100%	20	100%
	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%	20	100%

Level of significance established at .05

H1. Education : F = 42.49 Significant at (p<0.0001)

H2. Work experience: F = 0.03 Not significant

H3. Interaction between education and experience: F = 0.03 Not significant

Overall differences: F = 14.12 Significant at (p<0.0001)

(a) Planning at work:

A question was proposed to the groups on the ways they plan their tasks at work. Do they plan and arrange their duties at work in advance, or do they plan only those tasks that are likely to be inspected by their supervisor, or do they let things come without much thinking ahead?

Only 10% of group 1 and 5% of group 2 indicated their precise planning of work tasks. 30% of group 1 and 40% of

group 2 admitted planning for only the matters that are usually inspected by supervisors. Other matters are planned on a daily basis. The rest of the sample (60% of group 1, 55% of group 2 and 100% of groups 3 and 4) have no clear concept of advanced planning and are more likely to let things happen at work without advance planning. This can be understood of groups 3 and 4 who hold jobs that do not require much planning. Nevertheless, 60% of group 1 and 55% of group 2 indicated that they just let things at work come as they come without bothering to plan ahead.

This, indeed can affect the ways the school is run and achieves its goals. Almost half of groups 1 and 2 who hold jobs such as teaching, and student attendants do not plan their tasks precisely. In fact, their comments showed that a large number of them (more than half of groups 1 and 2) do only what they are told. Teachers follow a national curriculum, subject by subject according to a schedule set up by the principal. Other staff members process the work given to them by the administration without much planning, because of the centralization of the administration which planned everything nationally leaving no opportunity for individual contributions.

(b): Planning at the private level:

The importance of planning at the private level is that planning is an attitude and a habit that is transferred to



the workplace. Thus, the respondents were questioned on the ways they plan their private matters. Do they plan things carefully ahead of time, or do they plan the most important things only?

None of the respondents across the four groups indicated that they planned carefully for most matters. Instead, 45% of group 1 and 40% of group 2 said they plan only for the most important matters such as weddings, doctors' visits, etc. 55% of group 1, 60% of group 2 and 100% of groups 3 and 4 let things affect their lives without too much planning since, as one of them put it, "their faith is written by God and they shall meet it".

However, their comments on their lives as working women revealed a great many changes that indicate some form of planning which they were forced to adopt. For instance, being a working mother forced them to organize their time to meet their different demands at work and in private. They talked of their daily routine, looking after children and the house and meeting other social obligations which they are trying to limit to the weekends.

On the other hand, their financial independence as working women has taught some of them to plan and rationalize their expenses.

Huda, aged 24 (group 2), remarked:

"Before I became a working women, I used to visit relatives and friends at any time, no specific aims were clear. Now, my life is taking a new shape, and

I'm thinking more of the future and of what I could do with my income."

Moreover, recent economic difficulties have contributed to a noticeable change in people's attitude towards money matters. Monera, aged 32 (group 1), pointed out:

"in the past, I used to put all my money in my purse and spend it all. Now I think before I spend. I opened an account to keep my money away from me."

Another respondent felt the change in relation to their social practices and commitment with relatives. Because of work, they have to plan their visits to relatives who in turn take into account women's working arrangements and limit their expectations.

Although they may not feel they are precise in planning their duties at work or in private, women are actually doing so through the different arrangements which they have to adopt to meet their professional and private duties.

(c) Testing for the effects of education, work experience and their interaction on planning:

Hypothesis 9.1: Education has a significant effect on planning.

Hypothesis 9.2: Work experience has a significant effect on planning.

Hypothesis 9.3: The interaction of education and work experience has a significant effect on planning.

The overall purpose of these hypotheses was to



determine if education or experience at work or their interaction are significantly related to the participants' perceptions and practice of planning at work.

It was found that education has a significant effect on planning  $F(1,2) = 4.27$  ( $p < 0.0001$ ). Experience at work was not a significant factor in this regard nor was the interaction between education and experience which was found to be insignificant.

(d): Means of the four groups on planning:

Group 1 (Education + Experience) have the highest mean (1.47) with S.D. (0.52) which indicates that this group had the highest scores of all the four groups in the question on this aspect.

Group 2 (Education + No Experience) was second with a mean of (1.45) and S.D. (0.35) with a very minor difference from group 1 which again confirms the significance of education and its effect on planning.

Group 3 (Experience + No Education) and group 4 (No Education + No Experience) have both a mean of (1) which indicates that there was no difference between the two regardless of their difference on experience.

### 7.3: An Overall Analysis of the Four Groups' Working Characteristics in Relation to their Education and Working Experience:

Section 7.2 of this chapter has illustrated and discussed the findings of the study on the nine working

characteristics of the four groups of the sample.

The findings indicate that sex as a segmentation variable within the labour market of the Saudi Arabian economy creating segregation of females from the open market as has been illustrated in sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 of Chapter Four, has limited the opportunities available to females and affected the groups' commitment and desire for their present jobs. Seventy-five per cent of group 2 who were the lowest in their commitment to work expressed their dislike for their present jobs because they were forced into such low paid jobs that were not commensurate with their qualifications due to limited job availability in the market. Indeed only 35% of the whole sample across the groups expressed liking for their present work, whereas 35% accepted these jobs because none were available to them and the rest of the sample were forced to stay in their present jobs by their limited qualifications which did not qualify them for other occupations. This implies that the education of groups 1 and 2 as a human capital variable did not come about as an outcome of the groups' knowledge of the market's needs or an outcome of the individuals' motivation (which theoretically should enhance their employability and productivity in the market according to the human capital theory), but rather that education of the women comes about as a response to what is available to them in the educational institutions which is determined by exogenous



political and social factors.

Most participants had experienced great difficulty in their first year at work in understanding job requirements, handling tasks and dealing with other colleagues. Nevertheless, groups 3 and 4 (with no education) have more difficulties than others, and those from groups 1 and 2 with high school certificates have more difficulties than those with university degrees. This indicates the role education plays in the preparation for work although most participants with education (apart from teachers) criticized their education for its generality and the lack of training or orientation to work.

For most participants, the concept and the value of work was not well defined nor does it occupy a great importance. Groups 1 and 2 emphasized mainly the social aspect and being with others rather than advancement of their careers, whereas groups 3 and 4 emphasized their financial needs as the main reasons for their employment. Their educational orientation has conditioned females to view their work as secondary to their roles as wives and mothers which has affected their commitment, feeling of responsibility, and willingness to stay longer at work if needed, and that is why family obligations were the main reason which 68% of the sample indicated for refusing in-service training programmes.

TABLE 28

TEST FOR THE EFFECT AND INTERACTION OF WORK  
AND EDUCATION ON THE NINE WORKING CHARACTERISTICS

MEANS OF THE FOUR GROUPS ON THE NINE WORKING CHARACTERISTICS

	EDUCATION	EXPERIENCE	EDUCATION & EXPERIENCE INTERACTION	OVERALL DIFFERENCES	GROUP ONE MEAN	GROUP TWO MEAN	GROUP THREE MEAN	GROUP FOUR MEAN
	H1	H2	H3	Dif	1 Mean	2 Mean	3 Mean	4 Mean
F Value Commitment	4.63 0.034	*0.37 0.544	5.36 0.023	3.46 0.0205	2.19	1.89	2.17	2.35
F Value Co-operation	*2.82 0.097	*0.24 0.627	*2.14 0.147	*1.73 0.167	1.96	1.90	1.75	1.88
F Value Change	93.37 0.0001	3.93 0.051	4.97 0.028	34.09 0.0001	1.41	1.27	1.01	1.02
Skills Valuation	-	-	-	-	1.71	1.73	-	-
F Value Aspiration	146.63 0.0001	3.66 0.059	*1.62 0.206	50.64 0.001	2.35	2.10	1.30	1.25
F Value Responsibility	37.62 0.0001	31.39 0.0001	8.01 0.0059	25.67 0.0001	1.96	1.35	1.32	1.12
F Value Decision	*1.04 0.310	7.67 0.007	*0.04 0.838	2.29 0.039	1.38	1.17	1.30	1.11
F Value Time Valuation	*0.27 0.606	*0.47 0.493	*0.12 0.731	*0.29 0.83	1.38	1.41	1.40	1.47
F Value Plan	42.29 0.0001	*0.03 0.860	*0.03 0.860	14.12 0.0001	1.47	1.45	1.00	1.00

\* Not significant



As shown in Table 28 the education and the experience of the four groups and their interaction were not found to be significant in determining the groups' co-operation and acceptance of other colleagues at work. Most participants of the four groups did not appreciate team work or group assignment although they showed a high degree of acceptance of their non-Saudi Arabian colleagues but only at work and not at the social level.

The groups' categorization of the most important working characteristics reflected the type of jobs performed by each group. Groups 1 and 2 (with education) and who occupy white collar jobs indicated that "having a sense of responsibility" was their first choice for the most important work characteristic. Groups 3 and 4 who performed blue collar jobs chose "obedience to supervisor" as their first choice.

On the other hand, both education and experience along with their interaction were a significant factor in the participants' educational and occupational aspirations. Seventy-five per cent of group 1 (Education + Experience) indicated their ambition to acquire more education compared to 35% of group 4 (No Education + No Experience). Nevertheless, a large number of the respondents across the four groups showed no major differences in the way they see themselves and their occupational career compared to males in which 60% of group 1, 85% of group 2 and 90% of group 3

and 4 viewed men's work as important in all cases. Responsibility and initiative were significantly affected by the education and the experience of the groups. Seventy per cent of group 1 and 40% of group 3 (both with experience) indicated regular communication and suggestions with their supervisors in regard to work matters compared to none of group 2 and only 10% of group 4 (both with no experience). Group 1 participants were also more perceptive of the extra responsibilities given to them at work (50%), compared to 25% of group 2, 30% of group 3 and none of group 4.

Although those with more experience showed more readiness for decision making than those with less experience, the ability of the respondents to make decisions at work was greatly affected not so much by education or experience as by the nature of their working organizations especially in the GPGE institutions. The centralization and the autocratic administrative approach of the GPGE along with the way male officers view female roles and abilities greatly affect the ability of females to make or handle decisions at work.

Females as a segment in the labour market are treated differently because they are thought to be biologically different and are dealt with in the workplace by the higher administration as subordinate, less capable and not eligible to take decisions.

That is why 85% of all respondents in the two first



groups revealed no control or power over matters at work where most decisions are usually taken by the male administration and distributed among the female workers at schools. This in turn affects the ability and the level of confidence of these female workers to such an extent that 70% of group 1 and 90% of group 2 indicated their preference for jobs that do not involve decision making.

The findings of the study have also shown that the education and the experience of the four groups make no difference to the way the participants perceived and used their time effectively at work. There is an overlap between work as a productive process and the use of work to make up for the participants' social needs which are not fulfilled because of the social status of these women in present Saudi Arabian society.

On the other hand, the ability to plan work matters is affected by the education of the participants. Forty per cent of group 1 and 45% of group 2 plan their duties at work to some degree whereas the other two groups with no education (3 and 4) have no clear concept of planning at work. Nevertheless, the comments of the four groups on this aspect reveal a great deal of change and planning in the daily lives and social activities of the participants. As working women, these females have to organize and plan their private time to suit their dual responsibilities at work and in the family.

An overall assessment of the findings suggests that

although education and experience were a significant factor of many of the working characteristics analysed in this study, other factors have also contributed to a great deal of discrepancies among the four groups of this study.

The nature of the female labour market in terms of segregation and limitation in job opportunities has affected the group's commitment and choice of work. Jobs which women are permitted to pursue are designed to suit what is thought to be "their weak and less capable nature" which affects the women's occupational aspirations and professional experience.

The schooling of those with education and its hidden curricula have also supported such assumptions about females and helped to reinforce the traditional expectations of women as mothers and wives as opposed to the needs and obligations of the workplace which affects female occupational aspiration and skills valuation.

The nature of the organizations in which women work is another determining factor especially within the GPGE institutions. The centralization, autocratic management approach, the way the higher administration views the role and ability of women and the arrangement and internal regulation of the schools do not allow the experience women have at work to make any difference to the way the women view their work or their roles nor do they allow them to develop their self image, their leadership qualities and their decision making ability.



## Chapter Eight

### Summary and Conclusions

#### Introduction

This chapter outlines the main concerns of the study and summarises some of its most significant findings. These findings are structured around three major factors affecting the group's working characteristics. These factors are: (a) the nature of the Saudi female labour market; (b) the type of education offered to women; and (c) the nature of the organizations in which women work. The discussion of these factors raises a number of issues requiring further investigation and some recommendations with implications for policy which conclude the chapter.

This study has focused on the interrelationship between education and employment for women in Saudi Arabia, by investigating the effect of education and work experience on the work characteristics of four groups of female workers in Riyadh, which differ in their educational background and the length of their working experience.

Two questions were addressed: (a) the role of female education in facilitating the needs of the workplace by enhancing the work characteristics of the groups, and (b) the role of work experience and female labour market conditions and limitations in determining these

characteristics.

For the purpose of this study, nine working characteristics were identified: work commitment, working co-operatively and acceptance of other colleagues' differences, educational and technical skills valuation, educational and occupational aspiration, change orientation, responsibility, decision making, time valuation and planning.

#### 8.1: Factors Affecting the Nine Working Characteristics of the Four Groups:

The findings indicate that education has significantly affected the groups' work commitments, change orientation, educational and occupational aspiration, responsibility and planning. Work experience has also significantly affected the change orientation of the groups, their aspirations, their abilities to make decisions at work and their feelings about handling of responsibilities. However, this thesis argues that this significance, as shown by statistical analysis, is greatly reduced in value because of three major factors, namely (a) the nature of the Saudi female labour market; (b) the type of education offered to women; and (c) the nature of the organizations in which women work.

##### (a) The nature of the Saudi female labour market

The Saudi female labour market is characterized by limitations and segregation which negatively affect the groups' value and understanding of work and limit their desire to continue or commit themselves to their present



jobs. Because of their sexual identity women, regardless of their education or experience, are confined to certain professions within the labour market which are thought to suit their "feminine nature". This has affected the availability of "suitable" jobs, the demand for female labour and mobility among their segments and other segments in the labour market which in turn has forced a large number of participants across the four groups to remain in unwanted low paid jobs. As the segmentation theory implies, women are exposed to such conditions, not so much as a result of their individual choices but rather as a result of social and political factors which determine the basic functions of the female market.

(b) The type of education offered to women and its hidden curricula

Women's access to education is limited to certain specialities that lead to the expected conventional line of employment such as teaching, nursing and medicine. The educational institutions direct their priorities to serve these limited specialities which result in the overcrowding of these occupations and spreading unemployment among educated females. Women's education, through its stated objectives and practices, works to serve and maintain the existing social status of women who are portrayed and are oriented to serve the traditional roles of wives and mothers normally demanded of women by the existing social structure. That is why the concept and the value of work was not well

defined nor does it hold great importance for most of the participants in the four groups who emphasize their social needs for being with others or their financial dependency on work, rather than the advancement of their career. Motivation of women to enhance their employability through more education or training as advocated by the human capital theory is only possible under certain conditions and within certain types of schools and training which are defined by the GPGE and other existing social forces as suitable for women.

The problem facing educated women is that the jobs in the traditional sectors for which they are schooled, have been filled and these new graduates are caught in the middle by being traditionally educated in a labour market which has run out of opportunities in the traditional sector.

(c) The nature of organizations in which women work and their domination by higher male administration

Women as a segment in the labour market (by gender) are treated differently in the workplace because they are thought to be inferior to men, less capable and not sufficiently intelligent to take decisions as shown by the responses of the different groups. The arrangement and the internal regulation of schools and the way the higher administrations, especially in the GPGE schools, govern their female employees reflect a hierarchy of power in which females are subordinated by gender to males in status



in the type of jobs they occupy since the executive jobs are dominated by males, and in the authority that they exercise at work. Thus, the groups' experiences of work in these organizations and under these conditions was not a significant factor in determining their commitment to work or their co-operation with their colleagues or their valuation of time at work or their planning of work tasks.

(d) Policy implications

The findings of the study suggest recommendations for certain changes in policy as follows:

1. Women's education needs a major re-evaluation to tackle the philosophy and the foundations of a type of education that has not seen a major change since it was established in 1960. There is a need to investigate the quality of education offered to females in all stages in terms of the contents of the curricula, their hidden values, teaching instructions, teachers' competence, the provision of learning aids, buildings and other educational and practical issues relating to the educational process within schools.

2. Major reforms are needed in the GPGE administrative structure which is characterized by autocracy and centralization. This has to be modified to ensure a proper administrative approach that is professional and educational and that is equally shared in power and responsibility between both males in the higher administration of the GPGE and female employees in the schools.

3. An investigation into the training programmes of teachers and other staff of the schools to ensure a proper professional scholastic standard that provides students with an educational environment that is shaped by professionalism, accuracy and trustfulness which are necessary characteristics needed at work and which would be transferred to the pupils' working lives.

4. The transition period from schools to work should be given greater importance through the provision of career guidance and counselling services for women.

5. The study of the world of work should be an essential part of the curriculum. The role of work, industry and especially oil and science in the national development of Saudi Arabia should occupy greater importance within the school curriculum for women.

6. The value of work should also be stressed in the curriculum to compensate for the "oil boom values" which have reduced the concept and value of hard work making it more like a punishment and hardship. Pupils must be given the opportunity to see the value of work through their schooling, by placing a high value on the sense of duty towards work and towards the community and the interests of other individuals within society.

7. Studying the attitude of teachers towards improving their students' understanding of the needs of the workplace



in terms of commitment, efficiency, co-operation and responsibility, which in itself would help the students to identify their inner abilities and acquire the necessary education or training.

8. The role of schools in the lives of the students should be reviewed and schools should be designed to be interesting challenging places that can be enjoyed by students and not, as schools perceive their role at present, as institutions of discipline, religious preaching and recitation.

9. Because of the scarcity of data regarding unemployed women, there is a great need to study the psychological and social consequences of unemployment in a society like Saudi Arabia, in which public and social participation of women is limited.

10. The study stresses that the opening of new working opportunities for women would not solve the problem of the rising numbers of educated unemployed women nor the over-employment in women's sectors. And, unless a fundamental ideological change is introduced to the existing system of educating women and to the way that system views the role and position of women in society, which will allow schools, the media and other social and religious sources to perceive the role of women differently and more broadly, little change can be expected.

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## A P P E N D I C E S



## Appendix I

Interview schedule in its first form before field testing

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First Theme: Work Commitment

The original item and its source

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1. I work here because:
    - A. I like working here
    - B. No other jobs are available
    - C. My certificate does not qualify me for other jobs.
    - D. Nothing else to do - waiting for a husband.
  2. I like to remain working in this (department) (school) (organization).
  3. I prefer to do some other type of job.
  4. Jobs should come first even if it means sacrificing time from recreation. (The job should come first even if it means sacrificing time from recreation.) (Kahl 1968, No. 14)
  5. For married women:

Your husband is a sociable man and likes to invite people for dinner during working days, what would you do?  
(Record the response.)
  6. In some cases, work may require you to stay longer than usual hours
    - you would stay according to your work needs
    - you wouldn't stay because you don't like to stay
    - you can't stay because it contrasts with your family commitment.
- 

Second Theme: Working Cooperatively with Others and Accepting their differences

The original item and its source

---

1. I prefer the kind of job where one is part of group and
- I prefer the kind of job where one is part of a group and where

participates equally in the credit for good jobs.

everyone participates equally in the credit for a good job.  
(Kahl 1968, No. 22)

2. I prefer to do my job by myself so my achievement could be easily recognized by my supervisor.

3. I usually don't like group assignments because we always run into difficulties and end up with one person only doing the task.

4. I find it difficult to work with somebody who is not from my province.

Suppose you met a man who was different from yourself.

5. If there is a non-Saudi at work in your workplace:  
- you may like a friendship with them, including social activities  
- you can do work with them but not socializing  
- you find it difficult to work with them.

He was born in a different region (or country), his customs are very strange, he has a different way of talking and even a different religion but seems friendly:  
would you wish to get to know him well or would you just as soon not? (Inkeles and Smith 1974, NE-2)

6. Your department (school) has expanded and needs you to perform an additional task, what would you do?  
- Accept the new task as part of your duties  
- Refuse since you have enough tasks  
- Ask them to hire a new worker.

7. At work, three mates happen to be on leave, your boss wants to divide the jobs among the rest, what do you think?  
- it is a normal procedure to keep work going  
- I would not accept any additional work for I have enough of my own work  
- I wouldn't like to do any additional work that is not related to my work.



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### Third Theme: Readiness for New Experience and Change Orientation

---

1. In my type of work, things remain the same from year to year.
  2. I like things in my work to stay exactly the same.
  3. I like things to change in the way work is done, bringing new ideas and working methods.
  4. Employees took time off from their duties. They were trying to figure out a way to do the same job with fewer hours of work. Another mate at work said that is a good thing and would I tell her my thoughts about how we should change our ways of doing this. The third mate said, the way to do this type of work is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time, anger the boss and won't help. Which of the two views do you agree with?
  5. With new things I usually like to wait until I see how it has worked out for other people.
  6. I'm generally one of the first people to try out something new.
  7. People who question the old and accepted ways of doing things usually just end up causing trouble.
  8. On the job, introducing new machines or ways of doing things will just cause a lot of confusion.
- In your line of work do you find that things remain the same from year to year or is there much change in how things are done with the bringing of new ideas and ways of working? (Inkeles and Smith 1974, CH 1)
- Now some people consider that an advantage, some think it is a disadvantage, some say it does not matter what you say. (Inkeles and Smith 1974, CH 2)
- Two 12-year-old boys took time out from their work in the corn fields. They were trying to figure out a way to grow the same amount of corn with fewer hours of work.
- (1) The father of one boy said: That is a good thing to think about. Tell me your thoughts about how we should change our ways of growing corn.
- (2) The father of the other boy said that the way to grow corn is the way we have always done it. Talk about change will waste time. Which father said the wiser words? (Inkeles and Smith 1974, CH3)

---

#### Fourth Theme: Educational and Technical Skill Valuation

---

1. In your department (school) you think that you yourself and other mates need:
  - vocational training
  - personal training to develop their personal work characteristics such as trust in oneself, initiative.
  - you need both
  - there is no need for either
  - only one (specify).
2. In advancing my ability to do the work, I need extra training.
3. My present experience is enough with no more training.
4. I would be happy to be attended by trainees from other institutions e.g. teacher training institutes.
5. You were offered a training course for two weeks after work, you have the choice of attending or not:
  - I happily accept because I think it would enhance my professional development.
  - I wouldn't accept unless it comes with additional payment.
  - I do not accept because I cannot work in the morning, do the housework in the afternoon and do the course in the evening.
  - My husband/family would not agree even if I wanted to.
6. In my work, recruitment and advancement come out of
  - being qualified
  - knowing or having a family connectionTo hold his office a person should be:
  - from a rich, distinguished or high family background.

What should most qualify a man to hold high office?:  
Coming from a rich, distinguished or high family



- be the most popular among people.
- have higher education and special knowledge.

background/devotion to the old and revered time-honoured ways/ Being the most popular among the people/High education and special knowledge. (Inkeles and Smith 1974, CH 13)

---

### Fifth Theme: Educational and Occupational Aspiration

---

1. What in your opinion is the best occupation a person of your experience could hope for?

What in your opinion is the best occupation a person of your experience and ability can hope for? (Inkeles and Smith 1974, AS-5)

2. I would like to continue my education.

3. My type of job (teaching, administration) doesn't allow me to continue my education.

4. You are a teacher, clerk, student attendant, one of your mates at work has received a promotion to a higher administrative type of job. Do you think she is lucky because:

- (a) Administrative work is easier than your work.
- (b) It is an indication of professional advancement.
- (c) You would like the social aspect of being important and more respected.
- (d) You would like to supervise people instead of being supervised.

5. In comparing the importance of work for men and women:

- work is more important for men in all cases than for women.
- work is equally important for both sexes.
- for women work could be before marriage and children, after that they should concentrate on their family duties.
- work for women in general is not important. I work because of free time, economic needs, or waiting for a husband.

6. Here is a list of personal working characteristics. Based on your experience, which are the most important to do well at your work? Number these according to their importance, starting with 1 as the most important, and finishing with 12 as the least important.

- (a) strict obedience to supervisors
- (b) intelligence
- (c) doing neither more nor less than is required
- (d) being ambitious to improve one's position
- (e) knowing how to avoid trouble
- (f) personal appearance
- (g) being able to adapt to work conditions
- (h) respect for rules
- (i) having a sense of responsibility
- (j) experience on the job
- (k) punctuality.

7. Are there some other qualities that you feel are important in doing a good job which is not listed above?

Here is a list of personal qualities. Based on your experience, which qualities are most important to do well at your work?

- (a) strict obedience to your supervisor
- (b) understanding oneself
- (c) intelligence
- (d) doing neither more nor less
- (e) being likable
- (f) perseverance in work
- (g) being ambitious to improve one's position
- (h) knowing how to work with others
- (i) knowing how to avoid trouble
- (j) being able to sacrifice today for tomorrow's results
- (k) respect for rules
- (l) bold imagination
- (m) trust in oneself
- (n) to be very honest
- (o) to have genuine interest one's work
- (p) to be able to bear affronts
- (q) to have a sense of responsibility.

(Kohn 1977, No.17)

Are there some other qualities that you feel are important in doing a good job that are not listed above? (Kohn 1977, No.18)

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#### Sixth Theme: Responsibility and Initiative

---

1. I often talk to my direct boss (supervisor) concerning my ideas about work.

2. I feel I have much influence on the way things go at my work.

3. I have talked/written to some of my employers at the higher administration about some issues or problems at work and suggested ways in which things at work could be done.

Do you have much influence on the way things go at your work? (Kohn 1977, No.15)

Have you talked or written to some government official or political leader to tell him your opinion on some public issues? (Inkeles and Smith 1974, AC-4)



4. In an important occasion at work your boss (principal) was absent for an inevitable reason, what would you do?

- try to find out why she is absent and tell other fellow workers
- present yourself to the administration and offer your help
- since it is not your responsibility why should you worry?
- perform your duties as planned which is just your direct responsibility.

5. In the place where you work there certainly must be workers who at times do not do their share of the work. In general, how have you reacted when they have not done their share?

- I have not bothered
- it did not seem good but it was the boss's responsibility
- it seemed so bad that I was tempted to say something to them
- it seemed so bad that I told them that their conduct and behaviour was not right.

In the place where you work there certainly must be workers who at times don't do their share of the work. In general how have you acted when they have not done their share?

- I have not been bothered much
- it didn't seem good, but it is the boss's responsibility
- it was so bad that I was tempted to say something to them
- it seemed so bad that I told them their conduct and behaviour was not right.  
(Inkeles and Smith 1974, ACCA 50)

---

### Seventh Theme: Decision Making

---

1. The kind of job I would most prefer would be

- a job where I have to make decisions by myself
- a job where I have to make a few unimportant decisions by myself.

A job which I would most prefer would be a job where I have to make decisions myself.  
(Kahl 1968, No.53)

2. When I am in a group

- I prefer to make the decision myself.
- I prefer to have others make them.

When you are in a group, do you prefer to make the decision yourself or do you prefer to have others make them for you?  
(Kahl 1968, No.23)

3. I feel that I have the power to make decisions about things that have true importance to my work.

In my place of work, I feel that I have the power to make decisions about things that have true importance to my work.  
(Kohn 1977, B of 16)

4. My family raised me to make most of the decisions related to my affairs.

---

#### Eighth Theme: Time Valuation

---

1. A place of work should be run with a strict time schedule.

Some people think that a factory should be run with a strict time schedule.  
(Inkeles and Smith 1974, T 1-4)

2. We should be less concerned about time in the workplace.

3. I would like to leave work whenever I have finished my task not at a specific time.

4. I like to have a chat with my fellow workers everytime supervisors are not around or when I have no work to do.

5. It would bother me if somebody gave me an appointment and didn't come right on time.

Suppose a friend who said he would meet you at noon did not come right on time. How long would it be before you would consider him to be a little late?  
(Inkeles and Smith 1974, T 1-5)

---

#### Ninth Theme: Planning

---

1. People are different in how much they like to plan and arrange their affairs. How would you describe yourself?

- I plan ahead carefully in most matters
- I plan ahead only on a few matters

People are different in how much they like to plan and arrange their affairs (lives) in advance, would you say that you yourself prefer:

- to plan ahead carefully in most matters
- to plan ahead only a few



- I prefer to let things come about without too much thinking ahead.
- I prefer more to let things come about without worrying too much ahead (Inkeles and Smith 1974, Pl-4)

2. At work:

- I handle things as they come up without bothering much about thinking ahead.
- I plan and arrange things in advance.
- I only plan things that could be inspected by my supervisor.

## Appendix II

### Women, Education, and the Labour Market in Saudi Arabia: An Investigation of the Work Characteristics of Female Workers in Riyadh in Relation to their Education and Work Experience.

#### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE:

##### Primary Data:

1. Qualification: (Type of education - years of schooling,  
institute name)
2. Type of work:
3. Experience at this work and any previous one:  
Date of appointment
4. Social status
5. Age



For all the nine work characteristics, questions with scores are treated statistically, those with none are treated qualitatively.

---

First: Work Commitment

---

Score

---

- |   |           |   |
|---|-----------|---|
| 1. I work here because                                  |           |   |
| (a) I like working here                                 |           | 3 |
| (b) My certificate does not qualify me for other jobs   |           | 2 |
| (c) No other job available.                             |           | 1 |
| 2. I like to remain working in this job                 |           | 2 |
| I don't like to remain in this job.                     |           | 1 |
| 3. I prefer to do some other type of job.               |           | 1 |
| I wouldn't prefer any other job.                        |           | 2 |
| 4. A job should come first even if it means sacrificing | yes       | 3 |
| time from recreation                                    | sometimes | 2 |
|   | no        | 1 |
| 5. Sometimes you may find yourself struggling between   |           |   |
| work and family obligations either with sick            |           |   |
| children, husband, any other member of the family,      |           |   |
| or visitors, what do you do?                            |           |   |
| - organize myself on the previous day                   |           | 5 |
| - come to school but leave early                        |           | 4 |
| - come late   |           | 3 |
| - all above   |           | 2 |
| - absent from work                                      |           | 1 |
| 6. In some cases work may require you to stay longer    |           |   |
| than the usual hours                                    |           |   |
| - you would stay according to the job needs             |           | 4 |
| - you would stay but hate it                            |           | 3 |
| - you wouldn't stay because of family commitment        |           | 2 |
| - you wouldn't stay because you don't like it           |           | 1 |
| 7. Feelings and impressions when I first got the job.   |           | - |
| Difficulties faced with other staff members and         |           |   |
| with the work task in the first year.                   |           |   |
| 8. Value of work: what does work mean to the            |           | - |
| participants, how valuable is their work                |           |   |
| to their career as working women?                       |           |   |

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Second: Working Co-operatively and Acceptance of Colleagues' Differences	Response	Score
---	----------	-------

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- |  |  |             |
|--|--|-------------|
| 1. I prefer the kind of job where one is part of a group and participates equally in the credit for a good job   | Agree<br>Doesn't matter<br>Don't agree | 3<br>2<br>1 |
| 2. I prefer to do my job by myself so my achievements could be easily recognized by my supervisors.  | Agree<br>Don't agree                   | 1<br>2      |
| 3. I usually don't like group assignments because we always run into conflict and end up with one person only doing the task.                                      | Agree<br>Don't agree                   | 1<br>2      |
| 4. I find it difficult to work with somebody who is not from my province.  | Yes<br>No                              | 1<br>2      |
| 5. If there are some colleagues from other regions, other Arab countries at work:  |  |             |
| - you like to make friends with them including social activities   |  | 3           |
| - you can do work with them, no more   |  | 2           |
| - you find it difficult to work with them  |  | 1           |
| 6. Your department, school has expanded and needs you to perform a new additional task, what would your response be?   |  |             |
| - accept the new task as part of your job  |  | 3           |
| - you were forced by the administration to accept but suggest to them that they hire somebody else   |  | 2           |
| - refuse since you have enough work of your own.   |  | 1           |
| 7. At work, some colleagues happen to be on leave for various reasons (maternity, sickness), your boss wants to divide the work among the rest, what do you think: |  |             |
| - normal procedures  |  | 3           |
| - wouldn't like it, but accept it  |  | 2           |
| - I wouldn't accept any additional work  |  | 1           |
- 

Third: Change Orientation,	Response	Score
----------------------------	----------	-------

---

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 1. In my type of work, things remain the same from year to year. | - | - |
|--|---|---|



2. I like things in my work to stay exactly the same.	Yes	1
	No	2
3. I like things to change in the way my work is done, bringing in new ideas and working methods.	Yes	2
	No	1
4. With new things, I usually like to wait until I see how it has worked out for other people.	Yes	1
	Sometimes	2
	No	3
5. I'm generally one of the first people to try out new things, ideas.	Yes	3
	Sometimes	2
	No	1
6. People who question the old and accepted ways of doing things usually just end up causing trouble.	Yes	1
	No	2
7. On the job, introducing new machines or ways of doing things will just cause a lot of confusion.	Yes	1
	No	2

---

Fourth: Educational and Technical Skills Valuation	Response Score
--	----------------

---

1. In your school, you think that you yourself and other colleagues need:		
- vocational training	-	
- personal training to develop your social work skills such as trust in yourself, initiative	-	
- you need both	-	
- there is no need for either	-	
2. In advancing my ability to do the work I need extra training.	Yes	2
	No	1
3. My present experience is enough with no more training.	Yes	1
	No	2
4. How have your experiences at work helped you to develop your professional and personal skills?		
5. I would be happy to be attended by trainees from other training institutions, e.g. teacher training.	Yes	2
	No	1
6. You were offered a training course for two weeks in the afternoon, you have the choice of attending or not:		

- I happily accept because it would enhance my professional development 4
- I would accept only with extra payment 3
- my husband/family would not agree even if I wanted to 2
- I wouldn't accept because I cannot work in the morning, do the housework after, and go to the course in the afternoon. 1

7. Here is a list of work characteristics. Based on your experience which characteristics are most important to do well in the job?  
Number them according to their importance starting with 1 as the most important and finishing with 12 as the least important:

- obedience to supervisor
- intelligence
- doing neither more nor less than required
- being ambitious to improve one's position
- knowing how to work with others
- knowing how to avoid trouble
- personal appearance
- being able to adapt to work conditions
- respect for roles
- having a sense of responsibility
- experience on the job
- punctuality.

8. Are there some other qualities that you feel are important on the job which are not listed above?

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Fifth: Educational and Occupational Aspiration	Response Score
--	----------------

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- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| 1. What in your opinion is the best occupation a person of your experience could hope for |       |
| - The present occupation ( )  |       |
| - Is it different? and why?   |       |
| 2. I would like to continue my education. If No is the response, why?                     | Yes 2 |
| health, family, not interested, low grades, do not qualify for further study.             | No 1  |
| 3. Has your education helped you in your work and in what way?                            |       |



4. You are a teacher, clerk, student attendant, one of your inmates at work has received a promotion to a higher administrative job, would you like to get the same because:
  - it is an indication of professional advancement 4
  - you like the social aspects of the promotion 3  
    'being important and more respected'
  - administrative work is easier than your work 2
  - you like to supervise people instead of being supervised. 1
5. In your work, recruitment and advancement come out of:
  - being qualified
  - knowing or having a family connection
6. In comparing the importance of work for men and women, do you think:
  - it is equally important 3
  - it is important for women before marriage and children 2
  - it is more important for men in all cases 1

---

#### Sixth: Responsibility

Response Score

- 
1. I often talk to my direct boss (supervisor) concerning my ideas about work.
    - Yes
    - Sometimes
    - No
  2. I have talked/written to some of my employers in the high administration about some issues or problems at work and suggested ways in which things at work could be improved.
    - Yes
    - No
  3. I feel I have much influence on the way things go at work.
    - Yes
    - Sometimes
    - No
  4. Usually the boss gives me extra jobs to perform.
    - Yes
    - No
  5. In an important occasion at work, your boss/school principal was absent for inevitable reasons. How can you help?
    - present yourself to the administration and offer your help
    - offer your help only if asked
    - perform your duties as planned only
    - why worry or care? - it is not your responsibility

6. In the place where you work, there must be workers at times who do not do their share of the work.  
How have you reacted?
- I told them it was not appropriate and affects the outcome of the whole school 3
  - It is the boss's responsibility 2
  - I do not care 1

---

Seventh: Decision Making

Response Score

- 
- |  |           |   |
|--|-----------|---|
| 1. I feel that I have the power to make decisions about things that have true importance to my work. | Yes       | 2 |
|  | No        | 1 |
| 2. The kind of job I would most prefer would be:   |           |   |
| - a job where I have to make decisions by myself   |           | 2 |
| - a job where I have to make a few unimportant decisions by myself                                   |           | 1 |
| 3. When I am in a group  |           |   |
| - I prefer to make decisions myself  |           | 2 |
| - I prefer to have others make them  |           | 1 |
| 4. My family have raised me to make most of the decisions related to my affairs                      | Yes       | 2 |
|  | Sometimes | 1 |
|  | No        | 1 |

---

Eight: Time Valuation

Response Score

- 
- |  |     |   |
|--|-----|---|
| 1. A place of work should be run with a precise time schedule  | Yes | 2 |
|  | No  | 1 |
| 2. We should be less concerned about time in the workplace   | Yes | 2 |
|  | No  | 1 |
| 3. I would like to leave work whenever I finish my task not at a specific time                         | Yes | 2 |
|  | No  | 1 |
| 4. I like to have a chat with my fellow workers when there is no work and the supervisor is not around | Yes | 2 |
|  | No  | 1 |



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Ninth: Planning

---

Response Score

- 
1. People are different in how much they like to plan and arrange their affairs. How do you describe yourself:
    - (a) I plan ahead carefully in most matters 3
    - (b) I plan ahead only on a few of the most important matters 2
    - (c) I let things come about without worrying too much ahead 1
  2. How about your work:
    - I plan and arrange things in advance 3
    - I only plan things that could be inspected by the supervisor 2
    - I handle things as they come up without bothering much about thinking ahead. 1

### Appendix III

#### The preliminary questionnaire

June 1987

Dear Madam

This questionnaire is a preliminary stage that would help to build the interview schedule of my Ph.D. research which I intend to carry out in regard to female education and employment in Saudi Arabia and specifically in regard to the non-cognitive outcome of education and the working characteristics of female employees.

A number of studies have been conducted in many countries of which Saudi Arabia is not one. Thus, there is a great need to examine the relationship between education and employment in relation to the domestic conditions of female workers in Saudi Arabia.

I'm sure your experience as a director and supervisor of your administration with your female employees would greatly help to enrich this research. Please do not write any personal details such as your name or your place of work. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Fawzia Al-Bakr  
Institute of Education  
University of London



1. Type of organization: Education ☐ Training ☐ Personnel ☐
2. Educational qualification: .....
3. Are you satisfied with your employees' performance?  
Yes ☐ No ☐ Partly ☐
4. If yes or partly, what are the main factors for your satisfaction?  
e.g. their educational background ☐ their working characteristics ☐  
such as .....  
others ☐ .....
5. If your answer is no or partly, why?  
What are the main factors of your dissatisfaction?  
.....
6. Do you think that your (satisfaction/dissatisfaction) is related to one of the following:  
The nature of your administration ☐  
The size of the working organization ☐  
To the female employees themselves ☐  
To the type of job performed ☐  
Other factors: .....
7. What are the most important criteria for employment and for a good performance in your view?  
- cognitive abilities including intelligence and educational qualifications  
- working and personal characteristics including the personal traits, attitudes and value of the employee  
- both are important  
- both are important but the cognitive ability is more important  
- both are important, but the working and personal characteristics are more important  
- another ..... (specify)
8. Do you agree: more qualifications means better performance  
Agree ☐ Don't agree ☐  
Do you think that this would justify the escalation in that has been seen in recent years?
9. To what do you attribute this escalation?  
- improving the quality of work ☐  
- cutting down the number of applicants ☐  
- others ..... ☐
10. What are the recruitment criteria of your administration?  
.....

Here are twelve working characteristics which you need to re-categorize according to their importance starting with number 1 as your most important characteristic.  
 Good appearance..... Obedience..... Initiative and responsibility  
 .... Experience..... Leadership qualities..... Good human relation  
 with other staff..... The ability to work with others as a team  
 .... Punctuality .... Able to adapt to work conditions.....  
 Technical skills .... Safety..... Care for work possessions  
 .... Optimistic..... Competition..... Others.....

11. Are there specific characteristics relating to the type of jobs performed in your administration?  
 Type of job.....  
 What are the characteristics required.....
12. From your experience, have you noticed a difference among your employees in these characteristics. Yes ☐ No ☐  
 These differences are attributed to:  
 - Education  
 - Experience at work  
 - Others
13. How could you improve these characteristics:  
 - Improving the educational system ☐ How .....  
 - Training during school days  
 - In-service training  
 - Provide training courses on personality development, assertiveness and leadership characteristics  
 - Others .....



## Appendix IV

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia  
General Presidency of Girls' Education  
Girls' Administration, East Riyadh

### Evaluation Sheet for Employees Working in Educational Institutions (Summary of three sheets)

First: Name, Job, School, Qualification, Number

Second: Performance  
Ability to plan, to take decisions, to supervise.  
Understand and perform educational and  
learning programmes  
Ability to improve work, to carry responsibilities  
Time valuation, knowing their specialities  
Preparing their class, knowing work roles  
Understand safety procedure.

Third: Personal characteristics:  
Change orientation, ability to deal with  
students, accept orders and supervision  
Good appearance, and ability to handle situations

Fourth: Relationship with other members of the organization,  
with supervisors, with colleagues, with students and  
with the public.

## Appendix V

### The Labour Laws for Women and Juveniles in Saudi Arabia (Labour Law: 1969)

General laws regarding women and juveniles:

Article 160: Adolescents, juveniles and women may not be employed in hazardous operations or harmful industries. In no case may men and women commingle in places of work or in the accessory facilities or other appurtenances thereto.

Article 161: Juveniles and women may not work at night between sundown and sunrise, and not more than eleven hours except with permission from the Justice Minister in non-industrial work and as an exceptional case.

#### Women's Employment Conditions

Article 164: Working women have the right to maternity leave of four weeks before the birth and six weeks afterwards which is assigned by doctor in their workplace or by a medical certificate that is approved by the Ministry of Health. In no case can a woman be employed during the six weeks after delivery. These women get half of their salary during this leave if they have been in work for one year or more and full payment if they have been in work for more than three years on the day of commencing maternity leave.

A female employee is not paid for her annual holiday if she has had maternity leave in that year on full pay. She receives half pay if she had half pay during the maternity leave.

- Female workers who are nursing have the right to not more than an hour during the work day to nurse their babies in addition to their rest-time.
- Employers pay the expenses of medical examination, medicine and delivery.
- No employer can dismiss a woman during her maternity leave.
- No employer can dismiss a woman during any sickness at work or during delivery which is accompanied by a medical certificate. Absence, however, should not exceed six months. No dismissal would occur without a reasonable cause stated in this law during the six months of a woman's antenatal period. An independent committee should grant the return to the same work for any female employee who has been dismissed from work against the laws stated above.
- All rights given in this section are denied to any working woman who is found to be employed in another job during her leave. The original employer has the right of non-payment and the woman worker has to pay back all the expenses.



- Exceptions to these preventive and limiting laws for employing adolescents, juveniles and women are possible in welfare or official organizations that are educational or vocational in their nature. The type of job, hours and their suitability to the physical condition of the workers should be stated in the policy of these organizations, subject to the approval of the Ministry of Labour after consultation with the Ministry of Health.
- In all places where women work, chairs should be provided for their convenience.

## Appendix VI

### Examples of the internal regulations of the General Presidency of Girl's Education (GPGE) with the Arabic versions

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia

The General Presidency of Girls' Education

The Internal Regulations of the Intermediate and Secondary Schools

#### Section Nine:

Article 53: The intermediate and secondary schools are administratively directed by the local educational authorities in each province.

Article 54: The academic year, vacations and exams are decided by the main administration in the GPGE.

Article 55: Every school administration should take all the measures needed to improve and discipline students' behaviour.

Article 56: The GPGE prohibits all its participants including principals, administrators, teachers, workers and its pupils from embracing or calling for any destructive ideologies or practising any political or cultural activities inside or outside the schools.

Article 57: All female employees in schools including teachers, administrators and other school staff are required to glorify the teachings of Islam, strictly observe the traditions of the country and to follow the regulations of the GPGE including the absolute ban on smoking by any member of the school.

Article 58: All females in schools including staff and students are forbidden from the excessive use of cosmetics, accessories or dressing up apart from the wearing of modest Islamic dresses as decided by the authority which should be cheap and available in the market.

Article 59: All staff are prohibited from giving private lessons without permission from the GPGE.

Article 60: Staff must set a good example by following Islamic teaching and helping one another in schools.

Article 61: Every school has to have its own Mosque which is equipped with the necessary facilities.

Article 62: School libraries should have the necessary facilities and be provided with educational and cultural references which do not conflict in any way with Islamic teachings.



Kingdom of Saudi Arabia  
The General Presidency of Girls' Education  
The Inspection Department

1988

Re: Uniform and Perfume

MEMORANDUM

The GPGE has noticed that some of its staff and students are becoming football fans. This is noticeable from some of their clothes which match in colour with their favourite team. Students have also been noticed using an excessive amount of perfume.

The GPGE has issued a number of regulations and circulars which clearly state the policy of the GPGE in regard to the requirement of uniforms and the use of perfume.

We hope that schools will observe such regulations.

The Deputy President

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia  
The General Presidency of Girls' Education  
Girls' Education Administration in Riyadh

1986

Re: Prohibition of any political, religious or  
advertising leaflets in schools

URGENT AND IMPORTANT

I enclose the memorandum issued by the president of the GPGE regarding the prohibition of any political, religious or advertising leaflets distributed among students in school unless issued by the GPGE and under its guide-lines.

The General Manager of Female  
Education in East Riyadh

Kingdom of Saudi Arabia  
The General Presidency of Girls' Education  
The Inspection Department

1988

Re: Donations and parties

The GPGE has received information which indicates that some schools, especially girls' colleges have sometimes been collecting money, giving parties or buying gifts for some members of the faculty on the occasion of births, marriages, farewell parties and so on.

As you may know - God Bless You - the GPGE is extremely punctilious in all its educational institutions in following God's path and ensuring that participants follow the Islamic instructions in their behaviour.

Accordingly, the GPGE's participants are obliged to observe the rules and regulations of the GPGE outlined since this organisation was established, which state that collecting money and giving parties are incompatible with the regulations of our establishment. Thus and according to our recurrent regulations, no parties can be held without written permission from the GPGE.

God Bless You.

The Deputy President



(For translation, see p. 366)

- ١ ) -

#### الفصل التاسع

##### أحكام هتامة ومفصلة

المادة الثالثة والخمسون : المدارس المتوسطة والثانوية ترتبط بصفة مباشرة اداريا وغنيا بالجهة التعليمية في المنطقة التي تقع فيها .

المادة الرابعة والخمسون : تحديد أوقات ابتداء الدراسة في جميع المدارس وانتهائها - وكذا توقيت اليوم الدراسي - ومواعيد الامتحانات النهائية وابتداء الاجازة الصيفية ، تصدر بها تعليمات من الرئاسة العامة لتعليم البنات .

المادة الخامسة والخمسون : على ادارة كل مدرسة أن تتخذ جميع الوسائل التي تضمن تحسين سلوك الطالبات وتاديبهن وتوجيههن .

المادة السادسة والخمسون : محظور على جميع موظفات المدارس الاداريات والمدرسات والمدرسات والمستخدمات ، ومحظور على طالباتها اعتناق المذاهب الهدامة أو الدعوة اليها ، وممارسة الاعمال السياسية أو تعاطيها داخل المدرسة أو خارجها .

المادة السابعة والخمسون : على جميع موظفات المدارس الاداريات والمدرسات وسواهن تنظيم شعائر الاسلام ، ومراعاة تقاليد البلاد وألفها المرعية ، والمسير حسب التوجيهات التي تصدر اليهن من الجهات المختصة . ومن ذلك منع التدخين منعاً باتاً ومحظره على كل من في المدرسة من موظفات وغيرهن .

المادة الثامنة والخمسون : يحظر على جميع الموظفات والطالبات في المدرسة التبرج بالزينة والحلي والساجيق والحضور بهنّ سوى اللباس الاسلامي الساتر . ويجب التقيد بنوع اللباس الذي تحدده الجهة المختصة على أن يكون رخيص الثمن ومتواضعا في الاسواق .

المادة التاسعة والخمسون : محظور على جميع المدرسات والمدرسات والمفتشات اعطاء دروس خصوصية للطالبات الا بترخيص من الرئاسة العامة لتعليم البنات أو من مثلها في المناطق .

المادة الستون : يجب أن تكون جميع موظفات المدرسة الاداريات والمدرسات قدوة حسنة ومثالا طيبا في التسكع بالاسلام ، وأن تسود روح المحبة والتعاون فيما بينهن ، وأن يسمين لنشر ذلك بين صفوف الطالبات وغيرهن ، وأن يشعرن تجاه مسؤولياتهن ومهتهن الشريفة بالاعتناء والعناية .

المادة الحادية والستون : تحتوى كل مدرسة على مسجد في مكان لائق للصلاة ، ويجهز بوسائل الدهارة اللازمة للوضوء .

المادة الثانية والستون : يمدن بالمكتبات المدرسية ومكتبات النصول بحيث تتوافر فيها المراجع والكب التعليمية المفيدة للمدرسات والطالبات ، على أن تكون خالية من كل ما يمتارض مع الاسلام .

المادة الثالثة والستون : يتم تنظيم العلاقة بين المدارس وبين ادارات التعليم والمندوبات وبين المدارس وبين الجمهور وفقاً للتعليمات التي تصدرها الرئاسة العامة لتعليم البنات .

##### البوابون

المادة الرابعة والستون : البوابون مسؤولون عما يلي :-

أ - أن لا يدخل المدرسة رجال البهتة أثناء وجود الطالبات والمدرسات في المدرسة ، الا في المروءة . خاصة بتدريسه الرئيس العام لتعليم البنات أو مدير التعليم في المنطقة وبأن خططيته ، بعد أخذ المحطة اللازمة صاناً لعدم الاختلاط .

ب - أن لا يسمح بخروج أي امرأة من المدرسة قبل نهاية دوامها التدريسي الا بأذن خطي من مديرة المدرسة بحسب ما به لمدة شهر .

رئيسة اللجنة  
رئيسة اللجنة  
رئيسة اللجنة  
رئيسة اللجنة

(For translation, see p. 368)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الرقم : ١/٢/١٤٥٢  
مستأنس / ١٤٥٨/٢/٢  
الموضوع : التأكيد على منع جميع التبرعات  
التراسية العامة لتعليم البنات  
التفتيش العام للشعبة الادارية

واقامة الحفلات .

المحترم

سعاد ، وكيل الرئيس العام لشئون الكليات

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته وبعد :-

تلقينا عدة كتابات تفيد بأن بعض المدارس التابعة للتراسية وخاصة  
الكليات تقيم جميع ما بلغ مائة من درساتها وبالبنات للقيام بحفلة من أجل ولادة  
فلانة وشراء هدية لها أو زواجها أو حيل استاذ أو تدبير استاذة ونحو ذلك . وكما  
تعلمون وفقكم الله أن الرئاسة حريصة كل الحرص على أن تسير جميع المراحل التعليمية  
وفق منهج الله وأن يتحلى منسوبها بتعاليم الاسلام وآدابيه وأن تهتم عن كل ما  
من شأنه أن يخل بذلك وأن تكون أعمال الجميع متشعبة وفق تلك الخطة التي رسمت  
منذ انشاء الرئاسة . ولما في جميع التبرعات واقامة الحفلات من منافي لتعليمات وتعاليم  
الرئاسة المتكررة التي نظمت هذا الجانب من ذلك التعميم رقم ١/٣/٤٧٥ ت فـ  
١٤٥٥/٨/١٥ هـ منع جميع التبرعات لأي غرض من الأغراض الا بتوجيه من معالي الرئيس  
العام والتعميم رقم ١/١٩/١٤٦ ت في ١٤٥٢/٥/٧ هـ بشأن منع اقامة أي حفلة الا بموافقة  
خطية من الجهة التي تتبعها الكلية أو المدرسة . ثم التعميم الأخير رقم ١/٤٢/٨١  
في ١٤٥٨/٢/١٩ هـ

لذا يعتمد تعميم هذا على الجهات التابعة لكم للتشفي بسوجه والتأكيد  
على التوجيه التربوي بمقابته .

نتنن لكم التوفيق ود مستم .

الرئيس العام بالنيابة

د / عبد الله الرشيد

ح/ص

ح/لكتبات - الى الرئيس العام

ح/لكتبات - كتب سادة لثابت / صورة لثابت سادة لثابت - لثابت

ح/لكتب سعاد ، الوكيل المساعد

ح/لكل مد يرتعلم لتعميمه واعتاد بسوجه

ح/للتفتيش العام مع الاساس لاجابه العريد ، بان سعاد من التعليمات بوضع خطه ضوابط لهذه

ح/لادارة العامة للتوجيه التربوي

ح/للطف العام مع التعميم



(For translation, see p. 367)

٦/١٧٩١  
١٩٣١/٣  
معد  
تاريخ  
لغة

الموضوع: تاسع صنع كؤوس مع آية شرافة  
دنييه أو دينايه أو دينايه مالم نكه  
صادرة عن طرعه ارتباه

الملك العربي الشريف  
 الرئاسة العامة لتعليم البنات  
 إدارة تعليم البنات بالرياض  
 الغنيمش الإلارارى

## المكرمة مدبرة التوجيه التهرى

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته وبعد :-

برفقہ صورتہ تعمیم معالیٰ الرئیس العام لتعلیم البنات رقم ۲۱/۳/۱۰۶ ت فسی  
۱۴۰۶ھ/۱/۱۰۶ والخاص بمنع توزیع آیۃ نشرات دہشہ او سیاست او داعیہ ما لم تکن  
تلك النشرات صادرة عن طریق الرقاعہ  
لذا علیکم تركیز جهودكم لمعالجة وتلافی آیۃ سلبیات تخالف هذه التعلیمات والرفع  
عنها .  
ودائمہ

مدير عام تعليم البنات بشرق الرياض

(عبد الله محمد الحرقان)

(علوم م. م.)

صورة لمكتبتنا مع صورة من تصميم معالي الرئيس العام  
 . . . . . لمكتب المصاحف . . . . .  
 . . . . . لمدبر شعبة التفتيش الإداري . . . . .  
 . . . . . مع صورة تصميم معالي الرئيس العام لكل مدرسة ثانوية ومتوسطة وأبتدائية  
 وروضة ومركز الخطاطه ومدارس تحفيظ القرآن الكريم والوحدة الصحية .

(For translation, see p. 367)

الرقم : ١٠٥ / ٢ / ٣

التاريخ : ١٤٠٨ / ٣ / ٣ هـ

لـ

الموضوع : بخصوص التأكيد على الزى المدرسي

الموحّد .

المملكة العربية السعودية

الرئاسة العامة لتعليم البنات

التفتيش العام - الشعبة الإدارية

تعميم

المحترم

معد .

المكرم مدير تعليم البنات بهـ /

السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته

- لوحظ على بعض منسوبات مدارس تعليم البنات قيامهن بتشجيع نوادي الكرة ومن مظاهر ذلك لبسهن لزي يماثل لون لبس ذلك الفريق ، وخاصة عندما يفوز الفريق .  
كما أن الأظفار بين الطالبات أصبحت منتشرة بكثرة وتأخذ شكلاً ملفتاً للنظر .

ولقد سبق للرئاسة أن أصدرت عدة تعاميم وتعليمات أوضحت فيها ما يجب على طالبات ومولفات الرئاسة أن يتقيدن به من الزى الموحد المحتشم وعدم استخدام الأظفار بشكل ملفت للنظر .

لذا نأمل التنبيه على كافة منسوبات المدارس التابعة لكم ومتابعة ذلك بصفة دائمة .

تمنيا لكم التوفيق والسداد .

الرئيس العام لتعليم البنات بالنيابة

د . عبدالله عبدالرحمن الرشيد

(ج ٤٠)

صورة لمكتبنا .  
صورة للوكيل المساعد .

صورة للوكيل للشئون التعليمية .

صورة لكل مدير تعليم للاعتار .

صورة للتفتيش العام مع الاساس .

صورة للتفتيش العام .

صورة لللف العام مع السودة .